The Nation

FOUNDED 1865

Vol. CXIII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 9, 1921 No. 2940

Contents

EDITORIAL PARAGRAPHS 517
EDITORIALS:
The Way to Disarm 520
Why There Was No Strike 521
The Sanctity of the Ballot 521
Blue Blood or Bluenose 522
SHALL WE BE MAD? By Harry Emerson Fosdick 523
SIGN OF THE HEART INN. By Leonora Speyer 524
THE GHOST OF VERSAILLES AT THE CONFERENCE. By William E. Borah 525
MILITARISM IN THE UNITED STATES AND THE CONFERENCE. By Rome G. Brown 526
THE MENACE OF THE ANGLO-JAPANESE ALLIANCE. By Nathaniel Peffer 529
A JAPANESE LIBBERAL'S VIEW. By K. K. Kawakami 530
AND A CHILD SHALL LEAD THEM. By Frazier Hunt 532
HEARING THE TRUTH ABOUT HAITI. By Helena Hill Weed 533
THE VOTE OF THE NORTH DAKOTA FARMERS. By O. S. Morris 535
FOR A SHY LOVER. By Genevieve Taggard 536
THE GENUS PROFESSOR. By Max McConn 537
PHOENIX. By Leslie Nelson Jennings 539
IN THE DRIFTWAY. By the Drifter 539
CORRESPONDENCE 540
BOOKS:
The Training of Lawyers. By Albert De Silver 541
"Americanization." By B. Charney Vladeck 541
Economic Liberty. By George Milton Janes 542
Havelock the Diarist. By Preserved Smith 543
Industrial Government. By Charles A. Beard 543
The Beginning. By L. L. 543
Notable New Books 544
DRAMA:
Pity and Terror—II. By Ludwig Lewisohn 545
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS SECTION:
The Conquest of Haiti 546
The Haiti-United States Treaty 552

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD, EDITOR

ASSOCIATE EDITORS

LEWIS S. GANNETT FREDA KIRCHWEY
ARTHUR WARNER LUDWIG LEWISOHN
NORMAN THOMAS

ERNEST H. GRUENING, MANAGING EDITOR
CARL VAN DOREN, LITERARY EDITOR

CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JOHN A. HOBSON ANATOLE FRANCE H. L. MENCKEN
FRIEDRICH WILHELM FOERSTER ROBERT HERRICK

SUBSCRIPTION RATES—Five dollars per annum postpaid in the United States and Mexico; to Canada, $5.50, and to foreign countries of the Postal Union, $6.00.

THE NATION, 20 Vesey Street, New York City. Cable Address: NATION, New York. Chicago Office: 1170 People's Gas Building. British Agent for Subscriptions and Advertising: Ernest Thurtle, 36 Temple, Fortune Hill, N. W. 4, England.

UNUSUALLY brave and outspoken for a politician was President Harding's speech upon the Negro problem which he had the courage and manliness to deliver in Alabama itself. We are hearing much, of course, that it was tactless and ill advised and the pack of professional Southerners is in full cry because he dared to say that colored Americans should have all the political and economic privileges guaranteed to them by the Constitution of the United States. One has only to remember the complete silence of Woodrow Wilson upon this vital question during the entire eight years of his incumbency of the Presidency to measure the daring of Mr. Harding and the worth of his readiness to speak out on behalf of the disfranchised and oppressed among us. We sincerely trust that he will now follow this up by the appointment of the race commission he promised when he was inaugurated and that he will continue to endeavor to uphold the Constitution now so flagrantly violated and spat upon by the South. The fault in Mr. Harding's utterance was his reference to social equality, which he did not define, and his assertion that our colored Americans may never aspire to this terrible thing. To this point we shall recur at length next week; today we can only say that it is proof that he has not yet thought the problem through. But that he has dared to stand up for a republic with only one kind of citizenship, we are profoundly thankful.

EVERYONE, probably even the diplomatists gathering at Washington, knows that the people want disarmament. They are tired of taxes and depression and the dislocation of their economic life, and they are even more tired of war and the threat of war. The only way in which this nearly unanimous sentiment can make itself felt is through the actions and vociferations of organized groups. In the clash of competing interests and policies the delegates at Washington are likely to forget a simple fact like the demand for peace of a war-weary world. But they are less likely to forget if this demand is dinned into their ears by organized and powerful groups of citizens. And this is being done. The farmers, the industrial workers, both men and women, the women voters, the churches, through a dozen different organizations and amalgamations of organizations, are rallying their forces to bring pressure on the conference. Their programs, to be sure, vary. Some groups emphasize the need of taking up the disarmament problem as an issue by itself, apart from all considerations of economic imperialism. Some have put forward well-considered programs for the solution of the Far Eastern question. We have no quarrel with either method. Opinions as to that must vary. The important thing is that every delegate at Washington shall be made to realize that the American people through every organ of expression at their command is calling for an end to human suicide through war.

HERBERT HOOVER'S appeal to Congress to authorize the Secretary of War to donate to Russian relief societies "such of the used clothing, surplus medical and food supplies as cannot advantageously be used by the army or as cannot readily be disposed of for cash" should be heeded. Secretary Weeks, he says, has informed him that "there are considerable quantities of such things costing the Government large amounts for storage and preservation." It would be cruel indeed if supplies were to rot in American warehouses this winter which could be saving lives in Russia. Even the colossal barrier of hate and misinformation which has so long blinded many to the human significance of the bloated bellies of half-naked babies who happen to have been born upon the Volga instead of on the Mississippi will hardly keep Congress from heeding this modest appeal. The loathsome spirit of political huckstering exhibited at the conference of the Powers which recently met at Brussels ostensibly to consider relief for Russia, but actually only demanded recognition of the Czar's debts and a series of political "guaranties" before the Governments would even lend a sou to Russia, must not be ours. Mr. Hoover is again on the high trail of human sympathy, and America as a nation should be with him.

SOME Germans say they regret the departure of most of the American Army of Occupation from the Rhine. They say the Americans have been a restraining influence, and that they will be replaced by French troops of assorted colors who will behave worse. Our reading of history is

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that the Americans have done very little more restraining on the Rhine than at Versailles, and that their very presence has been in effect an indorsement of French policies which America ought never to condone. We hope America's refusal to accept the Treaty of Versailles will now be recognized as a rejection of that treaty's excesses, and we believe withdrawal of our troops is symbolically a rejection of French policy toward Germany. France herself has been learning a few things about that treaty. The distribution of the first billion gold marks paid by Germany was a great object lesson. The bills for the cost of the armies of Occupation very nearly swallowed it up, leaving next to nothing for reparation. Since then the Loucheur-Rathenau agreements have been signed, and France is to get the major part of her indemnities in goods rather than in gold, which is a step on the path to economic sanity. As a matter of fact the bill for upkeep of our troops on the Rhine has been so big that we have not thought of trying to collect it; and horse-sense alone would dictate sinking no more money in such a useless venture.

HERETOFORE injunctions have been employed against labor organizations either (1) to restrain them from striking or some activity connected with striking, or (2) to prevent them from seeking members among employees who had signed specific non-union contracts with their employers. In enjoining the United Mine Workers Judge A. B. Anderson of the Federal district court goes a long step beyond previous usage. On suit of the Borderland Coal Company he forbids their attempt to unionize Mingo County, West Virginia, on the ground that "the effort to unionize the West Virginia mines is an effort to monopolize all the coal industry in the United States," and as such is contrary to the Sherman anti-trust law. If this decision is sustained by the higher courts it means that any corporation which objects to the efforts of a national union to organize its men can enjoin such action as being in restraint of trade. We hope the union leaders will appeal the ruling both to the higher courts and to the supreme court of public opinion by refusing to obey it even if they suffer imprisonment for their refusal. As it now stands, despite its legal sophistries, Judge Anderson's decision gives new evidence of the active intervention of the courts not in behalf of a vague public but in behalf of capital in its struggle with labor. It is a striking refutation of the theory that the state is above or outside the battle of these great contending forces. Rather the state tends under legal forms to be the agent of the owning class as against the workers.

JUDGE ANDERSON'S action in Indianapolis should not be allowed to overshadow developments at the inquiry by the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate into the West Virginia coal mining disturbances. The outstanding event was a proposal by the United Mine Workers that the Senate Committee act as a mediator in an effort to obtain an agreement between the union miners and the operators that would end what Governor Morgan himself has called "a state of war." The suggestion was flatly refused by the operators, one of whom predicted further that many coal companies in union fields would refuse to renew their contracts with the United Mine Workers next spring. The rejection of mediation puts the responsibility of conditions in Mingo and other non-union coal counties directly upon the operators and destroys the chief hope that the hearing held. The only promising alternative now appears to be compulsory intervention by the Federal Government in the coal trade. Mr. Samuel Untermyer advocated such intervention and proposed to the committee a law requiring companies engaged in interstate business to take out a Federal license. A condition of this license, he said, should be that employers could not refuse to bargain collectively with labor unions and that members of the latter could not refuse to work with men who were not members of their organizations.

MR. UNTERMYER was outspoken in asserting that the open shop, even if in theory desirable, was certain, practically, to deteriorate in any large industry into the non-union shop. He ascribed the fight to keep unionism out of southern West Virginia to the United States Steel Corporation and to J. P. Morgan and Co. This control, he said, was exercised less through the Steel Corporation's direct hold on mines and coal lands in West Virginia than by indirect financial power centering in Wall Street. He reminded the Senate committee that the coal operators of Mingo County were dependent for transportation upon the Norfolk and Western Railroad, that the latter was controlled by the Pennsylvania Railroad, and that the Pennsylvania was strongly influenced by the Steel Corporation through interlocking directors. The elder Mr. Morgan, Mr. Untermyer recalled, had admitted in the Pujo money inquiry that he named all the directors of the Steel Corporation. Thus we get back to the fountain-head. The power to make loans and to grant credit is the hand that holds the throttle of American industry; and the mountaineer workman, fighting for the right to live and labor where he was born, is battling not so much against obstinate and visionless bosses about him, as against an unseen but all-powerful financial despotism beyond.

GERMANY has followed the only possible course in accepting the decision of the League in Upper Silesia. She could not resist. The Treaty of Versailles has left no impartial tribunal to which a browbeaten Germany can appeal. The League of Nations turns out to be rather a tool of allied policy than an instrument of international comity. In Upper Silesia as in Vilna its decisions are determined rather by special interest than by impartial justice. By this decision the mischarting of Europe which has done and is doing so much to render economic recovery impossible is still further extended. To believe that such a decision will long endure, is to be willing to believe anything. The process of Balkanizing Europe which the Allies are pursuing is bound to bring grave penalties in its train. Meanwhile we wish to be recorded as again protesting against the decision and as being of the opinion that it is from every point of view injurious to the Allies and to Germany alike, contrary to good morals and economics—and another instance of the gratification of that French and Polish desire to destroy the Central Powers which is at the bottom of the chaos in Europe.

ANOTHER chapter in the continued story of the American Legion's attempt to standardize and coerce the opinion of its members has begun. The New York County organization, having given its approval to preferential treatment of war veterans in the civil service, demands that the charter of the Willard Straight Post be revoked because

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

that body has publicly expressed a contrary view. The Leon Soniat Post of Louisiana was expelled last year for opposing the bonus in similar circumstances, while D. P. Barrows, president of the University of California, Colonel Alexander E. Anderson of New York City, and numerous others have been assailed for assuming to voice opinions contrary to those of fellow Legionnaires. "Well," we hear some one ask, "is that not majority rule?" It is not. Such rule demands the acquiescence of the minority to the decision of the majority in respect to *action*, for the reason that otherwise nothing could be done. Majority rule does not mean that a minority, when outvoted, must abandon its *opinion*, or the continued championship of it. Does the American Legion hold that Congress, after passing a protective tariff law, should expel any member who thereafter advocates free trade?

WHETHER or not the strike threat hastened the decision of the Interstate Commerce Commission to cut freight rates on grain by 16 per cent and its intimation of further reductions it is a step in the direction of reviving business and ought to bring some relief both to farmers and consumers. The decision was made in the face of the fact that last year the roads did not earn 6 per cent on invested capital which under the Esch-Cummins Act was to be the barometer by which rates were to be regulated. It has proved impossible to guarantee 6 per cent simply by fixing rates. Too many factors, such as general business conditions, labor costs, and efficient administration are involved. The Commission declares that the provision of the "law does not constitute a guaranty to carriers nor is the obligation cumulative." But it also says that the August earnings of the Western roads if maintained during the current year will give a 6.47 per cent return and it denies the claim of the executives that during that month maintenance expenditures were subnormal. This encouraging news will harden many a heart against the piteous pleas of the roads that they cannot do business without further wage cuts.

WHENEVER the European correspondents have nothing more pressing to cable, they send an account of fighting in Morocco and the number of dead Moors that civilized armies of Christendom have left upon the field. First it was the French, now it is the Spaniards, who are spreading the higher culture of the white race in dark places. There has been almost continuous warfare ever since what may be called the modern civilizing movement began; ever since the French in 1904 obtained—for a *quid pro quo* to Great Britain in Egypt—permission to carry out "pacific penetration" in the Sherifian Empire. Two years later the Conference of Algeciras sought to mollify Germany by establishing in Morocco a system not unlike that of the mandates of the Treaty of Versailles. France was awarded a sphere in the center and Spain one in the north where she had priority rights through years of war; other countries were promised equal trade privileges by means of certain "open ports." France managed her mandate so cleverly that, having bought off Germany with a tract of African jungle, she substituted her own rule for that of the Sultan nearly ten years ago. Spain has come along more slowly with the Riff tribes of the northern coast, but recently, after killing 1,000 Moors, General Berenguer was able to send a dispatch to Madrid beginning exultantly: "Today was a glorious day for our arms." Morocco for the last twenty years has been a miniature of what other regions are likely to be in the next twenty if the mandate scheme of the Treaty of Versailles survives.

THREE coal-black Negroes sit in the French Chamber of Deputies, symbols of the genius for ruling races of another color which the French, in contrast to the Anglo-Saxons, have so frequently displayed. France alone among the great imperial nations has admitted the principle of direct representation of colonials in the national parliament. Yet even so only seven of France's colonies are represented and these are among the least important, such as Reunion, Martinique, and French Guiana. Senegal's twelve millions are represented by one deputy chosen by the voters of four privileged settlements and no others. Algeria, Tunis, and Morocco are on varying stages of the route from "protectorate" to colony. Tunis and Morocco have no representation in Parliament and only since the war have a few Arab landholders and soldiers been granted the vote long denied to all but French settlers. Madagascar, whose black conscripted sons still stand guard on the Rhine, a constant source of international poison, and French Indo-China, French Sudan, and French Equatorial Africa are utterly unrepresented. Yet the introduction of conscription among these dark-skinned peoples was a crime for which no step toward self-government can atone. A French deputy has proposed suppression of colonial representation and establishment of a Colonial Parliament, a sort of Advisory Council elected by the colonies, to sit in Paris. The Government prefers rather to proceed in the path of gradual creation of local provincial legislatures, leaving the haphazard fourteen colonial representatives in Parliament as a symbol. If the French Colonial Office undertakes the program in earnest the results should make an interesting comparison with the experience of England and of America.

FOR the first time since the Russian revolution Maxim Gorki has left his country to take to the world outside of Russia a plea for the unhappy scientists in that country who for four years have had not only to contend with hunger and cold but to endure the pain of seeing the fruits of all their researches buried in manuscript with little or no chance of reaching the audience which science must have to be really fruitful. Gorki speaks of an important work upon the treatment of tuberculosis, of another upon Spanish influenza, and of yet another upon the more economical heating of large buildings. Over 20,000 pages, according to his estimate, of precious material is awaiting publication to become of the widest usefulness. Meanwhile, among the intelligentsia of Petrograd, for example, 22 per cent are said to be consumptive, 29 per cent suffering from cancer, 11 per cent from alcoholism, and 16 per cent from mental diseases, and learning everywhere is at so low an ebb that only the most heroic can persist. We have at present no way of finding out what the actual value of this unpublished matter may be, but four years of such acute intellectual activity as that of Russia since 1917 cannot have had merely negligible results. The Western nations are just now talking about retrenchments. We venture to suggest that for the cost of two or three torpedoes and a fraction of a battleship all the books that have been written in Russia, good, bad, and indifferent, could be published in six months. For our part, we prefer the books to the weapons.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Way to Disarm

THE way to disarm is to disarm. This is our reply to those of our readers who have asked us for a program and a platform for the coming Conference. It is, moreover, absolutely practical and, since the last war, no longer open to the charge of visionary sentimentality. *The Nation* long ago declared that the world must get rid of war or war will get rid of the world. A true description of this Conference would be that it meets not for the limitation of armament but in its essence to prevent the human race from committing suicide. For to this pass have we now come; the world is in ruins as a result of this last struggle; it is economically wrecked. In Central Europe it is by no means certain that civilization will survive; that five to six millions of human beings may yet die from starvation in Europe is the belief of hard-headed men who have lately surveyed the situation. Yet all of this was the result of a struggle which only began to draw in whole populations, had only begun to use the discoveries in the field of poison gas, chemical and aerial warfare which in the next struggle will blot out whole armies and cities. To commit suicide or not to commit suicide, that is the question before the Conference.

So our program goes far, far beyond a naval holiday, or limitation of armaments, or the forbidding of conscription, or the outlawing of submarine and poison gas, or making wars dependent upon referendums. We are for mustering out the navies to the last ship and disarming to the last man. These are our fourteen points of disarmament—all in one. If international disarmament does not come out of the Washington Conference we are for once in accord with William J. Bryan in demanding that the United States go ahead and disarm by itself. This country is powerful beyond any in its material resources; it is entirely self-contained and self-supporting; it cannot be starved out or subdued by any now existing Power. Its authority in the world is of the greatest. Let it but disarm and in time all the world must follow. The moral forces of every other country would compel their people to follow in our footsteps even if the disastrous state of their public finances and the increasing burden upon their productive powers did not drive them to such a step.

That preparedness means war and not peace is now the admission in England of so brilliant a military writer as General Maurice and in the United States virtually of President Hibben of Princeton and of Raymond Robins. It is only four years since these two Americans succumbed to the preparedness mania; they bore their share in the turning of the United States into an armed camp. Today they apparently have seen a new light. How can any reasoning man do else if he considers the outcome of the Great War itself? That that was a dead failure so far as its avowed objects were concerned every candid man must now admit. True, militarism was defeated in Berlin as it was in France in 1815 and 1870. But that it was stirred into new life in the countries of the Entente, and that it stalks in full regalia in one small nation after the other is beyond the need of proof. For the rest, the resort to arms has merely filled the world with such economic distress, bitterness, and hatred as to appal the most optimistic observers. It is still true that the way to cure war is no more by means of more war than the way to cure the drink habit is by increasing the amount of drink. President Hibben and Mr. Robins are now right; preparedness leads straight to more war. No single thing save one could so insure peace between the United States and Japan as the hauling up on land of the fleets of the two countries.

Save one thing. And that is a new way of life for the great nations of the earth. We admit freely that complete disarmament will not wholly insure peace as long as nations seek to impose their wills and wishes upon others as has Japan in Korea, Shantung, and Siberia, and the United States in Haiti, Santo Domingo, and Nicaragua. As long as two such nations violate the common decencies of international life, as long as a professedly Christian nation like ours will slay and torture a defenseless people who in no wise ever offended against us there can be no certainty that nations will be beyond attack from others as imperialistic as Japan or England or ourselves. What is needed is a complete moral revulsion against the whole miserable policy of dominating others by force and particularly a moral revulsion against the new prostitution of science to the business of murder by wholesale. The science that should be the very means to a better and richer life, a safer and happier one for the multitudes that toil—this is now to be the handmaid of war, capable of tearing down in a month the labor of centuries, for, we repeat, the will to war today is the will to suicide. For this we ask no one to take our word; let the curious study the speeches of General Fries, head of our Chemical Warfare Service, or the facts in Will Irwin's "The Next War"; let them recall the poignant regret of our poison gas officers that the unexpected ending of the war prevented them from trying out their new gas which would, they said, if released near a great city, kill some two or three hundred thousand persons. Was it not General Mitchell, assistant chief of our flying corps, who begged a month ago to be allowed to try a little poison gas and some aerial bombs on his striking fellow-Americans in West Virginia? Every practical test bears out the assertions of all the progressive officers of the army and navy that the day of the great battleship is over. That mankind will turn from now on to these new chemical means of destruction the power and range of which may be measured by the recent explosion in Oppau is the burden of every militarist's song—without regard to the fact that these terrible forces may some day master humanity and beyond question place power in the hands of a few miscreants to perpetrate indescribable horrors upon their inoffensive fellow men.

No, for once the ideal and the practical are the same. There is no road to the reduction of taxation and the restoration of business surer than that which leads through disarmament. Men will prate, of course, that war must ever be, that the passions of men can never be changed. So some doubtless spoke when the race began to eschew cannibalism and so we know they spoke when the duel was placed without the pale of law. Nor is it the passions of men that are to be feared today as much as the greed and cupidity, the blindness and cruelty and folly of diplomats and rulers. No people unwhipped by its imperialists hates another and no people but is capable of being moved by a new passion of fraternity, of brotherhood, of good-will, such as was preached in Galilee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why There Was No Strike

NO one can fail to rejoice that the railroad strike order was rescinded. It had been daily becoming clearer that a strike would be a disaster, certainly to the public and probably to the men. As was to be expected the settlement is in the nature of a compromise. The 12 per cent cut of last July stands and the roads definitely refuse to withdraw their demand for further wage reductions. On the other hand the men obtained from the railway executives a definite pledge that no carrier would seek changes in wages or working agreements except through the legal agency of the Labor Board, and from the Board itself assurance of an orderly treatment of demands which would give the unions ample time to present their case. And this is a substantial gain on which the Brotherhoods are to be congratulated. By their vigorous action they have checked the tendency toward peonage which Mr. Stone rightly told the Board was a worse calamity than would be a strike; they have nevertheless avoided a bitter struggle which in the present stage of public opinion would have hurt not only the railway unions but all labor organizations.

Undoubtedly it was public opinion which forced the men to accept this compromise. President Sheppard of the conductors phrased the matter unfortunately when he said, "We found that we . . . would be fighting the Government." That seems like an admission that the Department of Justice had been successful in threatening arrest for exercise of the right to strike which Congress had expressly and wisely refused to deny them. In our judgment the leaders were not much frightened by Attorney General Daugherty's threats of force against them. On the contrary, we have seen the backbone of important labor men visibly stiffen at the thought of those threats. But the pervasive and inescapable disapproval of the community is another matter. It was this as symbolized in "the Government" which Mr. Sheppard found he could not fight. There can be no doubt that the public's indifference to fundamental causes, the propaganda of the roads, and the tactical weaknesses in the unions' position, combined to create a situation in which striking railwaymen would have been defeated. Their indifference to other labor organizations had in no small degree lost them even labor sympathy. Oceans of ink have been spilled by earnest writers in bewailing the helplessness of "society" against a powerfully organized group of workers. The history of recent labor disputes here and abroad shows how greatly such fears have been exaggerated. If any labor group could hold up "society," it would be the engineers; yet they have not so used their power; and that is because, having isolated themselves from other workers, they were profoundly affected by the ill-will of their neighbors and the denunciations of the press.

No single group of workers can suddenly thrust itself into minority control of the masses. There is but one group in the country which is in a position to do that—the small group of financiers which, as Mr. Frank P. Walsh demonstrated in the last issue of *The Nation*, dominates railroads, steel mills, and coal mines. That oligarchy prevails not merely or chiefly by force but by control over the minds of men. It succeeds in persuading the public—even the mass of the workers—to acquiesce in, if it does not actively support, its own exploitation. Such control no specialized group of workers can suddenly attain. Labor can oppose the power of financial interests only by the creation of a strong, intelligent, and articulate consciousness of solidarity and by the development of its own press to express and interpret that consciousness. Here the railway Brotherhoods have notably failed. Other unions might help one another in a strike, but, as a textile union secretary recently said, "We'd as soon think of going to Wall Street as to the Brotherhoods for any kind of aid to win even a little increase in wages such as the Brotherhoods would never dream of accepting." Yet not all the blame for this isolation lies on the Brotherhoods. It rests in the whole theory and practice of craft organization, each craft fighting for its own hand. There is truth in the Brotherhood contention that if in this controversy they had been tied up to a number of unions with varying degrees of strength and varying rules of procedure they might have found themselves in an untenable position. They could not be expected in a critical moment to risk their existence on what might be only a magnificent gesture of solidarity, but they and other labor organizations can be expected to reconsider a philosophy which divides their forces and makes it easy to defeat them in detail. The growing cohesion and centralization of powers of our financial oligarchy demands a corresponding cohesion in labor. A new solidarity of labor lies at the basis not merely of effective opposition to "Wall Stret control," but of an effective reorganization of railroading. We have repeatedly urged the principles underlying the Plumb Plan as essential to a satisfactory cure of our transportation ills. We have urged that the control of an essential public utility by a group animated only by a desire for profit, and checked only by the demand of labor for wages and of shippers for lower rates, creates a situation which is the negation of efficient railroading and of industrial peace. But every constructive proposal is dependent upon the awakening of a new spirit in railway labor. There are not wanting signs of that awakening. May they increase and multiply during whatever respite this latest compromise may give us!

The Sanctity of the Ballot

SPEAKING at Birmingham, President Harding avowed the faith of thousands of Americans in these words: "There will never come a day when the rights of a minority are denied, however formidable or weak it may be, but no minority shall ever challenge the supremacy of the rule of law." To President Harding and those who agree with him certain very recent political history must come with somewhat of a shock.

In November, 1919, the citizens of Greater New York elected five Socialist assemblymen and six Socialist aldermen. The presence of these radicals was equally resented at the State Capitol and at the City Hall. The legislature, under up-State Republican leadership, expelled the Socialists. New York City is a bit too sophisticated for such measures, and—what is more important—the radical vote in the city, as contrasted with the State, was strong enough to command a certain measure of respect from politicians. Besides, New York district bosses long ago learned simpler methods of disposing of Socialist candidates than ousting them. A bi-partisan understanding between Republican and Democratic election officials in New York City makes it comparatively simple to intimidate or confuse Socialist

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

voters and to throw out Socialist votes. In spite of these tactics, four Socialist aldermen were elected by majorities which could not be denied and were duly seated. In two districts, the Eighth and the Twentieth, the returns showed a narrow defeat for Algernon Lee, former Socialist leader in the Board of Aldermen, and for Edward F. Cassidy. Unfortunately for the plans of the local bosses, rowdyism and fraud had been employed against the Socialists in these districts so crudely that, on evidence presented by Socialist watchers and others, the Supreme Court ordered the Board of Elections to recount the ballots. The recount showed a majority for both Lee and Cassidy. Now under the City Charter the Board of Aldermen is the sole judge of the qualifications of its members, though its action is subject to court review. This Board, controlled by Tammany Hall, resorted to masterly inactivity. Not until July, 1921, and then only under threat of court action, did the Committee on Privileges and Elections begin the official recount of the ballots. The process dragged interminably. Finally, Socialist counsel went into the Supreme Court and secured from Judge Wasservogel an order directing the committee to report. It did not do so within the time limit set, and contempt proceedings are now under way against the majority of the Committee on Privileges and Elections. It is reported that the Mayor has called a special meeting of the Board for November 3. It is obvious that if on that date, under fear of judicial action, the Board finally seats Lee and Cassidy, these gentlemen will, nevertheless, have been deprived of their seats for two years during which time their districts have not only not been represented by the men of their choice but have been misrepresented by men whom they had defeated. Even the belated victory of the Socialists will have cost large sums for court proceedings which they can ill afford to pay. For this state of affairs responsibility belongs not only upon the shoulders of the Democrats in the Board of Aldermen but upon Mayor Hylan. This gentleman rejoices in the sobriquet of Honest John. He is running for reelection on the platform, "I may be stupid but how I love the people." Yet he has acquiesced in the deliberate frustration of the popular will in two of the most populous districts in his city; and the Republicans who for political reasons have voted against the Tammany tactics in the Board are members of the party which acted with equal ruthlessness against the Socialist assemblymen at Albany.

The moral? Simply this. It is quite futile for President Harding and other statesmen and politicians to talk about democracy, the rights of minorities, and the will of the people, so long as men who, surmounting all the handicaps which confront radical candidates, nevertheless win elections, may then be deprived of their seats merely because their opinions or personalities are obnoxious to the majority. If there is a growing cynicism in the United States as to the efficacy of political action the reason is not to be found in "un-American agitation" but in this American practice of making elections meaningless when it suits the whim of the dominant political parties. Those who ought to pay most heed to the story of Lee and Cassidy are not radicals or revolutionaries but those honest conservatives and liberals who still believe that in American law and practice we have adequate guaranties that the will of the people can be ascertained at the ballot box and made effective without interference from political parties, domineering bosses or special interests of any kind whatsoever.

Blue Blood or Bluenose

PRAISE be to Allah, we have lost a yacnting cup at last! For seventy years the trophy won by the schooner America has been knocking around our shores until it has become rusty and covered with germs. Nobody would dare drink anything out of it now other than carbolic acid or what the lumberjacks of upper New York State call "dynamite water." We have offered the America's Cup continuously to all comers, have advertised it around the world, yet it is still on our hands. We have bought enough tea of Sir Thomas Lipton to enable him to build a thousand challengers, and in fact he has sent over a procession of Shamrocks until we have lost track of the serial number of the last one. All to no purpose!

And it looked as if the new cup, for the championship of the North Atlantic fishing fleet, was going to prove just such another puss-in-the-corner as the goblet won by the schooner America. We started off badly when the Esperanto of Gloucester easily outsailed the Delawana of Nova Scotia last year. But this year the Gloucester sailing sharps were not content to put up a real fishing craft to defend their championship against the challenging schooner Bluenose. Instead they decided to beat the Bluenose with a blue-blooded racing toy called the Mayflower. The Mayflower would have been all right for a regatta in Massachusetts Bay, but she wasn't built for a January storm on Georges Banks or salt fishing off the Virgin Shoals. She would have turned up her nose in disdain at a cargo of mackerel, and if one had plumped a 500-pound halibut on her deck she would have run for the nearest port in a blue funk. They say in Gloucester:

> Them blue-nosed Nova Scotians,
> They have sech foolish notions.

But there was nothing foolish in the judgment of the cup committee that the terms of the race called for a bona-fide fishing vessel, and hence the Mayflower could not compete. Blue blood has done somewhat to make New England famous, but not in the fishing fleet, and perhaps the committee ought to have been stiffer than it was last year. Real fishing boats do not go down in their infancy the way the Esperanto did off Sable Island last Spring. The true Gloucester craft is built to last ten years in fresh fishing on Georges Banks, twenty years in salt fishing on the Grand Banks, ten years carrying lumber and coal, and ten years as a stone barge. Then, at the respectable age of fifty, it may sink if it feels like it, upon giving thirty days' notice. James B. Connolly tells of a schooner anchored on the fishing banks which turned clean over in a storm one night, coming up on the other side smiling and unchanged except for a turn of the anchor cable around the bow. For this kind of a career blue blood is worth less than heart of oak.

So the Mayflower was disqualified and the little Elsie had to be slicked up at the last moment as a defender. She was beaten by the Bluenose, and thus in its second year the fishermen's cup becomes a real international prize and not a hopeless stay-at-home like the beaker won by the schooner America. The only hope for the latter trophy is that it will be condemned as an unsanitary and illegal public drinking cup by the New York Board of Health. Then we can substitute individual paper yachting cups at a penny apiece—and possibly stimulate more formidable competition.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

"To be mad" is in vogue.

Shall We Be Mad?

By HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK

A PROFESSOR in an educational institution of collegiate grade in New York City tells me that a class of his, composed of three hundred young Americans, by vote of 90 per cent of their number, recently agreed that a war between the United States and Japan is inevitable. One suspects from the probable location of their homes that these young men had been habitually fed on that summation of all editorial abominations, the Hearst Press; but one who now returns from Japan finds, to his chagrin, in other and presumably intelligent American circles a very similar fatalistic acceptance of war with Japan as a foregone conclusion. The ill-considered nature of much of this expectation shows itself when the inquirer can get at the picture of the coming war which these people entertain. Often they foresee Japan attacking California; they see us gallantly defending our sacred shores from assault, or valiantly repelling across the Mexican border the non-existent Japanese battalions that are drilling there. What they do not see is the obvious fact that under no circumstances will Japan ever attack us at all. What Japan will do, if this war at last arrives, will be much more serious. We regard ourselves as unfairly treated, Japan will say; we will now proceed to seize the primacy we want in the markets of Eastern Asia, and if you do not like it you can come across the Pacific Ocean and fight us in our own waters under circumstances which we ourselves will choose. Even a military amateur can see that the resulting situation will be much less romantic than the repulse of invaders from California. Even a diplomatic tyro may observe that if such a war is fought not a single question now extant will be settled and that a crop of new questions will have sprouted that will require an indefinite while to harvest.

What is stranger yet in the popular picture of this coming war which one runs upon in America is the naive expectation that it will be a duel between America and Japan; a prize-fight in a well-roped arena between two competitors. Have we, then, learned nothing from a war which started with the crack of an assassin's pistol in Sarajevo and ended with boys from Tasmania and Vladivostok dying in the same pool of blood on a French battlefield? Anyone with one eye can see that all Asia today is full of tinder. Drop a spark of war in anywhere from friction between a white and yellow race and see how narrowly we can confine the limits of the conflagration or control its consequence. Will the brown races remain neutral? Can anyone suppose that any part of Asia is not hot enough to burn? As for China, the Western nations, looking ahead a decade, may not safely count too surely upon her friendship for the white race. Already the wiser leaders of Japan are seeing that they have made fools of themselves in China, alienating the good-will of the very people whose friendship and support they most need and whose alliance would make Japan irresistible in Asia. Already they are beginning to perceive that they have sold out their birthright of real advantage in China for the mess of political pottage which they have gotten by military pressure at the costly price of Chinese hate. Only a little more wisdom may easily result in such a change of Japanese attitude as will make Chinese self-interest lie with Japan and not against her. Any way one may picture it, one cannot imagine a war in Asia that, however it may begin as a duel, will not end in a general riot.

The first impression which needs to be driven home upon those flippant chauvinists who all over America today so light-heartedly chatter about war with Japan is that when it comes it will probably be a thunderstorm in comparison with which this last war will sound like a popping chestnut. Deeper, however, than any such increasing gravity about the meaning of war with Japan, there should be in the American people a clear knowledge concerning Western responsibility for such a war. The picture of Japan as the great original ogre of the Far East, striving to gobble the earth, is, when a white man draws it, the most egregious and hypocritical nonsense. To be sure, wild and phrenetic sayings can be quoted from Japanese Bernhardis about the yellow conquest of the world. But while a few mad Japanese have been *talking* like that, the white race has been *acting* like that until, although it constitutes hardly one-third of the earth's population, it holds today by occupation or by government practically nine-tenths of the habitable area of the globe. Within ten years, from 1880 to 1890, the European governments swallowed five million square miles in Africa. Now they have the whole Continent with the exception of Abyssinia and Liberia. As for Asia, there is just one country there that has not felt the hand of white supremacy—Japan. India, Burma, Tibet, the Malay States, the Straits Settlements, the Philippines, and now, under the disguise of mandates from the League of Nations, vast areas like Mesopotamia, shuffled into the control of European states—everywhere it has been the white man who has been seizing Asia. As for China, in particular, Britain made war upon her in 1842 to force the opium trade upon her; seized Hongkong, forced open five treaty ports, and started her sphere of special influence that now extends far up the Yangtse Valley. In 1883 France made war upon her and seized Tongking and Annam. As late as 1897 Russia took from her Liaotung; Germany took Shantung; Britain took Wei-hai-wei; France took Kwangchouwan. The Western world, "pegging out claims for posterity," as Lord Rosebery phrased it, has been the great aggressor in the Far East, headed straight for the absorption of China as Europe already had absorbed Africa. The crux of the situation in the Pacific lies here: the aggressive seizure of the whole world by the white races has at last met the indignant opposition of rising young Japan; Eastern Asia seems to her absolutely indispensable to her existence; and the point of her whole policy is to keep the white race from getting primacy there as well as everywhere else. There are only two ways out of this situation: either we will fight Japan to see who will control the exploitation of Eastern Asia, or else we will all repent together of a mad policy of international selfishness in which, West and East alike, we have been playing the same piratical game. Are the Western nations ready to take that second attitude? If they are not, the Conference on Disarmament may as well meet and pass a motion to adjourn.

This brings us to another truth which the American people need to take to heart. Economic imperialism, the desire to exploit the resources of Eastern Asia, is at the root of all

A GOOD ARTICLE.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the contentions in the Pacific. If war comes it will be a battle of big business in a sense more baldly unrelieved by redeeming motives than any other great war, I suppose, in modern history. There is no real question of national glory to further or national honor to defend; the problem is all about oil wells and coal mines and iron deposits and the price of bean-cake. Our sons, gallantly marching out to fight Japan's sons in a war to decide whose capitalists shall control the economic exploitation of Eastern Asia—if that picture of the meaning of this threatened war could once clearly capture the imagination of the American people, one suspects that they would not so lightheartedly discuss it nor so willingly break their financial backs to pay the price of preparation. They would not simply acquiesce in a conference on disarmament; they would insist with passionate determination that the fundamentally economic questions involved in the Pacific should be decently settled by organized cooperation and not be hopelessly muddled by organized butchery.

All this does not mean that one is to think with kindly sentimentality about Japan. Japan is not a country that it will pay to be sentimental over. She is today the most autocratically military state on earth, the most dangerous representative of essential Prussianism in organization and method left among the powerful nations. She ought to be told that and to know that all other people fear and distrust her just because she is that. Her Government is only imperfectly constitutional, because no Cabinet can be formed which does not include an admiral and a general holding the portfolios of navy and army, and this procedure gives to the naval and military clique effective power to make and unmake governments. The Parliament of Japan, so far as international policies are concerned, is little more than an influential debating society; it certainly cannot efficiently control the foreign policy of the Empire; for that can be determined over the heads of Parliament by the right which the military leaders have to appeal directly to the Emperor. It follows therefore that with entire sincerity the civil government of Japan can agree with the United States to send only seven thousand troops into Siberia, while the military government sends seventy thousand without the civil government's knowing it. This dual government is now being publicly assailed in the press of Japan—a very encouraging sign—but it still exists and the military party in Japan, whether it expresses itself in words like the Twenty-one Demands on China or in deeds like the maltreatment of Korea, reveals the characteristic earmarks of ruthless, autocratic, military rule everywhere.

Before Western people, however, rear themselves with Jovian indignation to hurl their thunderbolts, there are at least two things which they well may say to themselves about the Japanese militarism. First, let them remember that Japan is the only nation in Asia which has not been invaded by a white race; which is not now looked upon as possible economic prey by a white race; which is not even divided off into spheres of white influence like China. And Japan is very sure that she knows why she thus uniquely and alone in Asia is safe from white seizure and dismemberment. It is because she was quick enough in adopting Western militarism, copying her army from Germany and her navy from Britain so that she has become a thorny thicket that no one wants to penetrate. She does love her military establishment. She thinks her unique security in Asia was won by it. She is sure her future immunity will depend on it. The West has taught her to prize it, as though it were her god, for safety from the all-encroaching whites. And so long as the West continues to respect nothing but force, Japan will not easily overthrow her military caste.

This second thing also the Western people should say to themselves about Japan: within this ancient military state a group of liberals is growing up, fighting against odds not easily imaginable to us a battle royal against their own reactionary cliques. Every year sees this movement spread. It shows itself in labor strikes against intolerable conditions in Japanese industries; in ever more daring freedom on the part of the press in attacking the Government; in campaigns like Mr. Ozaki's recent stumping of the Empire for disarmament; and sometimes in popular demonstrations against militarism, as when this last year a group of young men returning from their compulsory military service were met by their townsfolk with a banner reading "Congratulations upon your release from prison." The growth of liberal sentiment is shown if only by this fact that there have been more arrests in Japan for lese-majesty this last year than ever before. One Japanese Christian elder, sent to prison for his liberal activities, was given a reception by his church the night before he was locked up and a rousing public welcome when he was released.

No one who knows the facts can think of Japan *en bloc* as though her international attitude were an undifferentiated unity. In a postal-card canvass recently conducted, with thirty thousand replies, 94 per cent were in favor of disarmament, 5 per cent were against it, 1 per cent was neutral. To be anti-Japanese, therefore, or pro-Japanese, is nonsense. To be anti-Japanese militarism and pro-Japanese liberalism is the only hopeful policy, whether for individuals seeking sense or nations seeking peace. And of all swift, sure ways of killing liberalism in Japan, the most efficient would be to let war talk and war preparations make militarism seem still Japan's one safe reliance. The real alignment today is not America against Japan, but liberal America and liberal Japan together against the jingoes who would bedevil both.

Nothing in this paper, of course, can solve the many perplexing problems of diplomacy which await the arbitrament of this coming Conference, but one suspects that if the American people could clearly grasp the tragic gravity of this much-talked-of war, the heavy responsibility for its occurrence which would rest upon Western nations if it came, the good reason which we have given Japan to trust in militarism, and the close unity of interest which exists between the Japanese liberals and ourselves, there would be created a public mood by which the work of the Conference would be greatly facilitated.

Sign of the Heart Inn

By LEONORA SPEYER

Traveler, here can be had good wine,
A full red cup of this thirst of mine,
The bone of my hunger shall be your bread,
My ashes your fire, my aches your bed.
I shall not reckon a penny's pay,
I shall not care when you go your way.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Ghost of Versailles at the Conference

By WILLIAM E. BORAH

BURKE, speaking of the plans of the British Government in dealing with the American colonies, said: "However pure the intentions of their authors may have been, we all know that the event has been unfortunate." It is often so, and therefore not much is to be gained when analyzing past events in inquiring either into the intent or the motive of men who stood in places of responsibility at a particular juncture of human affairs. What matters to the people generally is: Has the plan stood the test, has it worked for good or for evil, for happiness or for misery? It is almost universally conceded now that whatever may have been the purposes of the framers of the Versailles Treaty, its terms and conditions have worked disastrously, not more disastrously perhaps to those against whom they were directed than those who dictated them—the whole world, victor and vanquished, are paying the penalty.

There can be no progress it would seem in the matter of land disarmament while the terms of that treaty remain unchanged. There must be radical and far-reaching changes, not only in terms, but in principle. This was plainly disclosed by the representatives of several nations when the disarmament resolution was before the first meeting of the League Assembly at Geneva. It was clearly stated that so long as the Versailles Treaty remained, Europe must remain armed. No less pronounced were the same views at the second meeting of the League Assembly. The Versailles Treaty is grounded in imperialism. It dismembers nations, divides peoples, and separates races. Such a treaty can last no longer than there is sufficient military force back of it to enforce it. Neither in its reparation clauses nor in its treatment of subject and friendly peoples, in its territorial distributions, or in the method provided for its execution are there to be found the healing, tolerant, forward-looking principles which work for peace and for the restoration of normal conditions. This is the report which comes from almost every visitor to Europe, from economists who study the situation, and from the uncontrolled press of the whole Continent.

Equally disastrous are the terms of the treaty upon the economic situation. Mr. Darwin P. Kingsley, president of the New York Life, has lately stated: "I think the relationships of the principal nations toward one another are worse now than they were before the war." He further declared that the Continent was more or less a financial madhouse and that it was impossible for Germany to meet the demands of the treaty. Mr. James Speyer, the New York banker, fully confirms this view and stated that the Versailles Treaty had ignored the economic interdependence of large sections so essential to the welfare of the people. How could it be otherwise? The treaty, instead of helping to federalize Europe politically, divides it and tears it apart. Instead of unifying it economically, it breaks up transportation systems, divides rivers, runs counter to exchange zones, and wholly disregards the economic unit which hundreds of years of practice and custom had built up. In other words, the treaty, in an attempt to punish Germany, has punished the whole Continent. In attempting to dismember Germany, it has Balkanized Europe. Nothing can save Europe, it seems to me, but a complete and radical reformation of the Treaty of Versailles.

Peace and economic sanity await a treaty which will enable Germany to pay and live and which will respect the economic interdependence of the different nations of Europe. There may be those who think Germany ought to be destroyed or dismembered. But are there any who are willing to go so far in this program as to reduce all Europe to financial anarchy and jeopardize the peace and contentment of the whole world? This is not a question merely of punishing Germany. It is a question now of preserving the remnants of civilization. It is no longer a question of punishing those who are charged with responsibility for the war, but it is a question of rescuing from misery and untold suffering those against whom no such charges have been, or could be, made. It is the confessedly innocent who are being crushed and destroyed by the present policies of Europe.

We have by the Berlin Treaty tied ourselves into the Versailles Treaty. We have taken the attitude of recognizing its terms and conditions as being just and wise and the policies upon which they are based as sound. We claim the right, if we choose, to take advantage of its terms. We have, above all things, by recognizing it and tying up with it and standing ready to avail ourselves of its provisions, given it our moral sanction. We ought, in the name of peace and in the name of restored Europe, to have urged that it be radically changed, that some of the cardinal principles it carries be abandoned. Instead, we have by implication, if not expressly, propped it and strengthened it, and thus helped to maintain it, and thereby postpone the rehabilitation of Europe. I regard the moral sanction of the treaty as joining the reactionary forces and subscribing to the policies and practices which are now holding an entire Continent in economic peonage. Far better had it been as a mere matter of dollars and cents, to say nothing of higher purposes, had we turned our back upon the whole disastrous theory of the treaty and the wrecking methods which it incorporates.

The cloud under which the Disarmament Conference will daily do its work is this treaty. We are advised by the public prints that we will be urged to cancel the war debts. If Europe wants to pursue such a course and present this question with the hope of having it seriously considered, it would seem that Europe should denote her willingness to be rid of a treaty which would make such a cancelation fruitless. The cancelation of this debt cannot restore exchange, nor cannot be of more than passing and temporary benefit to Europe, if this treaty is to remain in force and to be executed. If the United States is to be asked to donate billions to Europe, let it be under such conditions at least that it will be a donation to humanity, to justice, and in the hope of a redeemed Europe.

Some of us have been severely criticized because of our unwillingness to abandon our traditional policies and become political allies of foreign Powers. But let us assume, for argument's sake, that we were going to become entangled in the affairs of Europe and participate fully in her affairs. Even so, no less momentous is the issue which is presented by this treaty. If we are to enter the political

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

arena of Europe, if we are to go down into that maelstrom of passion and fear, of racial antipathies, and of ancient feuds, the supreme question is, What policies, what creed, what faith, shall we carry with us? Certainly, no man who has his country's welfare at heart, or even if he has not his own country at heart but thinks only of civilization generally, is willing to have this Government plunge into Europe under the policies which now obtain by virtue of this treaty. If we are going into Europe in the hope of serving, are we going there to serve the militarists, the imperialists, or are we going there to serve the people, the masses? There are those who would hail our going in because of our military strength and our financial resources. But the people of Europe, the masses, want us because of the things for which our Government stands, its maxims of liberty, its precepts of tolerance, its promise of a better and freer world. And against this Versailles Treaty and its harsh and cruel and reactionary and hopeless policies these masses in Europe and Asia are almost universally arrayed. It has always met with popular condemnation. It is upheld by the few, sustained by the militarists, supported by the exploiters, but it is condemned, feared, and execrated by the millions—those who must toil and suffer and fight and die under its revolting terms and policies. Even in the victor nations, a great portion of the people are in pronounced opposition to it. If we were going into Europe, therefore, it would be a perfectly hopeless task, a perfectly fruitless endeavor, if this treaty is to remain the law of Europe.

Militarism in the United States and the Conference

By ROME G. BROWN

EUROPEAN militarism made the last war and, aided by other brands of the same stuff, has brought the world to its present plight. The crudest conception of right and reason cries out against the crime of such a war, as well as of such a war settlement now pregnant to the point of parturition with other wars. "The war to end wars" and "It must never be again" already seem strangely remote. The world situation, our situation, demands that we do something. Result—the Conference.

There has been difficulty in naming the Conference. If named out of consideration for the conditions that necessitated it, the motives that prompted it, the hopes entertained of it, it would be called "The Conference Upon the Menace of Militarism." It is not too much to say that if the Conference does not control militarism, militarism will control the Conference. As announced, England will be there with her "military advisers"; Japan will be there with hers; we will be there with ours. In these days the "military adviser" is a potent political factor and his civil colleague recognizes the popularity of the argument of "the military situation." Besides, militarism, touching the best of us, turns our natural virtues to its own uses. We can easily say that English militarism will be there, and Japanese militarism too. Can we as easily ask ourselves the no less important question: Will we be there with our militarism? Or, more simply put: Is there any militarism in the United States? For if there is, it will be at the Conference and, unless recognized and guarded against, may influence or even control our course—a course of inestimable import to ourselves and the world.

Making use of a medical metaphor—we are discussing a disease of the political body—present conditions are favorable to the pathogeny of militarism, and we cannot safely claim that we are immune. We have had harmful touches before now: in the Civil War period, north of the line, as revealed by the famous Milligan case in which the Supreme Court condemned the military usurpations notwithstanding they were "popularly approved"; and in the Reconstruction period, south of the line, days of deathly military despotism. More recent evidence may be found in the repressive measures of the war just ended, many of which had no precedent even in that war which did, in truth, come near to destroying the nation. The pathological evidence may not convince us that we are affected, neither will it satisfy us that we are not. Also, self-diagnosis may be peculiarly unreliable, as the disease may be one of those the patient professes not to recognize. I am not a pacifist, but neither am I a militarist. There are, however, some symptoms which citizens devoted to the perpetuation of American ideals cannot safely ignore.

Whatever, in a popular government, may be the connection between militarism and the military establishment, it may be agreed that evidence of the one is found in the other if it is rapidly increasing in size and in political influence without apparent reason or justification, or if it is despotic within and defiant of the principles of civil liberty which restrain it from without. We ought to look the facts in the face in respect of our own establishment, whatever the deductions we draw from them.

Our standing army (now organized on a war footing) has grown as follows:

	Officers	*Men*	*Appropriations*
1897.....	2,179	25,353	$31,105,816
1898.....	2,198	45,669	33,126,057
1913.....	4,845	87,190	96,059,616
1916.....	5,025	102,616	294,569,123
1921 Regular	16,687	158,000	[1]469,000,000
(Authorized	17,400)	(Authorized 280,000)	
Federalized Nat. Guard	6,450	121,000	
(Authorized	11,500)	(Authorized 216,000)	
Army Reserve	62,000		

Within the last few years there have also been like increases in the Navy and Marine Corps. According to official figures, our navy is now a close second to England's and will be secure in second place after all building programs are completed. The fighting tonnage of Great Britain is 1,860,480, the United States 1,289,463, and Japan 528,689, with fighting efficiency perhaps in like ratio.

These increases have been authorized by Congress which, speaking with truthful practicality, means the military committees. Influenced by whom? It is pertinent to observe that the phenomenal growth of our military establishment has synchronized with the growth of the General Staff and of its influence and control. That body of militarists has probably controlled Presidents, and certainly Secretaries of

[1] Excluding amounts in fortifications and sundry civil acts.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

War and Congresses. The President is at a disadvantage in military matters and must rely almost entirely on his Chief of Staff and Secretary of War. A Secretary of War, even one of strong pacifist inclinations, soon becomes a convert. He finds himself congenially surrounded by resplendent pomp and power, of which he flatters himself he is at the head, while his family becomes a glamorous center of social attentions directed by handsome subalterns assigned for the season. The "military influence" is also forcefully felt in Congress. Every member, of a position that makes it worth the while, will upon proper occasion be flatteringly furnished an agreeable aide de camp, who will see that he is supplied with the necessary "official information," and incidentally honored with invitations to many delectable pink teas of a military flavor.

It is worth remembering that in 1919 after the war was over, the President, the Secretary of War, and the Chief of Staff insisted that Congress should provide a standing army of more than 20,000 officers and 560,000 men, to cost annually $1,000,000,000. The project was aptly described in the Senate as one in which "nearly all the control heretofore exercised by Congress over the army is to be transferred theoretically to the President, but practically to the Chief of Staff, with nothing left to Congress but to foot the bills." To this "reaching out for unrestrained militaristic power," Congress responded generously, though not in the form requested. If the General Staff got less than it wanted, it got far more than it expected. It got a corps of commissioned officers, in time of peace, of almost incredible number—17,400 professional Regulars, and as many semi-professionals—Reserve and Federalized National Guard officers —as the President (that is to say, the Chief of Staff) wants. We actually have 16,678 Regular commissioned officers, 6,450 National Guard officers, and 62,000 Reserve Officers, and the last two elements are rapidly increasing. With commissioned officers nearing the 100,000 mark, we have a sufficient quota for 2,000,000 men. In the Regular army alone, we have 10,000 more officers than enough for the authorized number of men, some 6 colonels, for instance, to each regiment. It should be remembered also that the 62,000 Reserve Officers we now have and the numberless thousands we can and may have, from second lieutenants to generals, are to be appointed by the President alone, without Senatorial confirmation, and may be discharged by him at his pleasure. Naturally officers who differ with the Chief of Staff in matters of military policy will not be appointed or will not retain their commissions.

What in time of peace is to be done with all these surplus officers, 10,000 professional Regulars and, say, 100,000 semi-professionals? They are not to be employed with troops. They were asked for and furnished to effectuate a far-reaching policy. The General Staff knows its Scharnhorst. That Prussian soldier-statesman was the real father of the idea that converted an entire nation to militarism. To protect Prussia, he would begin with the schoolhouse. Will we begin there, too? Our surplus officers are to be used in the general dissemination of the knowledge of military science among our people, especially our youth. They are to be used as instructors in hundreds of schools, colleges, and universities of the country. The last Army Act expressly so provides. It also expressly repeals every one of the previously existing inhibitions upon the employment of military officers on other than purely military duty. Officers of the army are now engaged in a variety of work which, out of deference to the doctrine against military control of civil function, has been forbidden them throughout our history until now. A rather picturesque example is to be found in the all-powerful Bureau of the Budget, which has at its head a General of the Reserves, and as his senior assistants, two Regular Colonels.

Each of these Regular officers will be an active center of militarization; and in the 100,000 commissioned Reserve officers scattered throughout the civil life of the country, each owing his commission to the Chief of Staff and holding it only at his pleasure, that military official has a tremendous power for the popularization of his militaristic views. Doubt is mingled with any assurance that these officers and their generations of successors will remain non-militaristic to the end. We have evidence of many instances in which brief military authority begot militarism in the individual. A story is related to a friend of mine about a high ranking official in the American Legion who described how he, standing in a hotel lobby at some Legion gathering, "saw civilians jostling, mind you, actually jostling officers in combat uniform." "If any of them had jostled me," he said, "I should have knocked them down." How closely this resembles the old Prussian days when the civilian had to get off the sidewalk when officers came along several abreast! The General Staff is a Board of Army Directors. It is a scientific product of the military nations of Europe, initiated by Frederick the Great and vastly improved in modern times by Germany and France, from whom we imported it in 1903, and with it superseded our method of control by a commanding general under a civilian Secretary. The General Staff began modestly with 3 general and 42 other officers; it now consists of 5 general and 145 field officers, and may be increased by the President. It has also grown enormously in power. Its Chief has come, in fact, not only to command the Army, but to shape its policy, using the Secretary of War's name and authority with the utmost freedom. Tenure of bureau chiefs, including the Judge Advocate General, is at the pleasure of the General Staff and bureau functions are dictated, where not absorbed, by the General Staff. Laws of Congress designed, as said by Senator Chamberlain, "to place an effective check upon the evidently growing tendency toward the creation of a militaristic despotism in the General Staff," were flouted. The last Army Act (June 4, 1920) again undertook to restrain this body, but officers will tell you, in whispers of course, that "the Staff is still running things its own way." The present Acting Judge Advocate General, with an eye single to the security of his tenure and hoping soon to succeed his chief, has helped the lawless progress.

Under Secretary Baker the militaristic element of the Department had its way. As Senator Chamberlain again said: "Of late so far as known, he [Mr. Baker] has acquiesced in everything that the General Staff has proposed to do." The War Department was fast becoming a menace to law and order. It insisted on maintaining a most cruel and inhuman court-martial system and practice. No soldier, whether in the camp or at the front, was safe from the barbaric punishments inflicted by the cruelty, jealousy, or intrigue of his triers. Courts martial became mere mockeries of justice, and any hearing and defense against the most groundless charge was only such in form. The question of conviction was merely one of the arbitrary will of the judges and often formulated before even the trial

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

started; also the punishments, extremely cruel, were often predetermined as the helpless victim was sent to a doom which might be death or life imprisonment on a charge which in civil life would have been dignified as an ordinary misdemeanor. It was a militaristic Judge Advocate General [Crowder] who took the lead in insisting upon the maintenance of the system and of the cruel practices under it, and who opposed any legal revision of such procedure on the ground that such revision would be an interference with the power of the military command, saying, "The camp is the fittest field for the application of our penal code." It was his insistence that resulted in the early days of the war in the execution of some thirteen soldiers and the harshest punishment of many others without the review of their cases which justice demanded and the statutes clearly required; it was he who, though admitting that four young soldiers convicted in France should be leniently dealt with, officially recommended that they be put to death because, as he himself stated, death was insisted upon by General Pershing, whom he also admitted to be without legal authority in the premises; it was he who opposed to the end the granting to an accused soldier of those familiar fundamental rights essential to justice. Reforms, considerably strained by departmental opposition, came through after the war, after the Secretary, to whom complaints had been made officially times without number, had publicly announced: "I have not been made to believe, by the perusal of these complaints, that justice is not done today under the military law or has not been done during the war period."

True militarists thwarted will have their revenge. Fearing to subject to court martial the officer who had exposed their iniquities they resorted at the time to the baser methods remembered by those who followed the facts, and are resorting to them still. The opportunity came with the Bergdoll escape. General Ansell had been counsel in this case to test the question whether the slacker was subject to trial by court martial for the capital offense of desertion or to a jury trial for evading the draft. As long as the fundamental law of our land endures, his connection with that case will be found to be right. If the Constitution guarantees an accused the "right of assistance of counsel," it is the lawyer's right to render it. Some lawyers lack the courage to take an unpopular cause, but the classic words of Erskine, following the Commentary of Blackstone, are as true today as ever. We need to hear them again: "From the moment that any advocate says he will not stand between the Crown and the subject arraigned in the court where he daily sits to practice, from that moment the liberties of England are at an end." This constitutional principle was offensive to the sterling patriotism of members of the American Legion of Philadelphia and Texas. They would have Congress "investigate" counsel, and, aided by that distinguished Texas Representative, Blanton, patriot and proved pink of propriety, put over an investigation which has become a stench in the nostrils of every fair-minded man. Representative Ben Johnson, author of the Democratic diatribe and bound by oath to support and defend the Constitution, declaimed, in true feudist style, that Ansell, ex-official, was culpable in taking "a case against the Government" (forgetting ex-Justice Hughes's distinguished example) and in defending a slacker who "ought to go undefended." His is one kind of Americanism. In this lawyer's answer you have another:

> I would like to make a general statement to you, and I am going to live or die by this statement. I am not going to let public opinion dictate to me what cases I take, whether they are against the Government or for the Government. We might as well understand that now; and I may fail because of that resolution, but that is written in our office and that is going to stand. . . . I say hat this man, as well as any other man in this land, had the right to be tried by the law of the land in the way prescribed by the law of the land, and he had the right to employ counsel to aid him in getting a trial in accordance with the law of the land, and that is all I did, limiting myself to legitimate questions of law.

The Johnson report is an offspring of the ugly union of militarist and partisan. With others, I carefully reviewed the evidence upon which that report was "based"; the necessity of judicial expression only prevented me from saying that the report is a mass of mendacity. Basic facts are invented or falsified in thirty-odd different instances; wherever, indeed, that course was deemed necessary to "support" the malicious conclusions.

The evidence clearly shows that the military authorities were responsible for Bergdoll's escape, and that Secretary Baker was clearly responsible that he was not apprehended. It was up to the Democrats of the committee to whitewash the Secretary of War.

Militarists have little regard for constitutional limitations. In a case before the Supreme Court last year, the Department of Justice as *amicus curiae*, at the request of the War Department, insisted that "by mere operation of a declaration of war the States were completely stripped of authority to try and punish for virtually all offenses against their laws committed by persons in the military service." But the court promptly met this argument by saying that, conceding for the sake of argument the power, "it was not the purpose of Congress to bring about as the mere result of the declaration of war the complete destruction of State authority and the extraordinary extension of military power upon which the argument rests."

In the late Army Act Congress, urged by the militaristic cliques, inserted a paragraph which, under the guise of ridding the Army of unfit officers, was designed to dispose of any one who did not acquiesce in General Staff control. The Department promised Congress that no officer would be subjected to star-chamber methods, but promptly proceeded to eliminate the "misfits" by "private proceedings" unknown to the officer. Officers of more than twenty-five years' service were thus discharged from the Army "without honor." This high-handed procedure continued until arrested by the restraining hand of the civil courts, an "interference" which the Department contemptuously criticized.

The above are some of our symptoms. Doubtless militaristic symptoms are even more pronounced in some of the other conferring nations. Representatives at the Conference should begin with an appreciation of the part to be played by their "military advisers"; and this might well include our own.

What of France and the Far East?

French Holdings in China and in the Pacific, and their bearing on the problems of the Conference—In the International Relations Section next week.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Menace of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance

By NATHANIEL PEFFER

HOWEVER great may be the other issues unfolded by the International Conference in Washington, one issue must not be allowed to become obscured. That is the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. Whatever else the Conference may accomplish it will have failed unless that issue is squarely met and properly settled. The test not only of the success or failure of the Conference but of the sincerity with which the Powers have come to the Conference will be the disposition of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance. No matter what their words may be, what lofty principles they enunciate, what binding compacts they seal, renewal of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance will be notification to the world that they are not prepared to pay the price of peace in the Pacific.

The Anglo-Japanese Alliance is a menace to the United States. It is a menace not because it is deliberately aimed at the United States. It is a menace in a less obvious but equally sinister sense: because it is the greatest single impetus to the forces that make for war in the Pacific. No mysterious act of an unknowable fate has arrayed America against Japan in the Far East. No prank of chance will bring the two into conflict. We shall not fight Japan out of any hatred for the Japanese people, or Japanese hatred for us. We shall fight, if it comes to that, because a situation will have been created for which the existing brutal code of international relations knows no other solution. The Anglo-Japanese Alliance will have helped enormously to create that situation.

Concerning the part the Alliance has played there can be no two views. Up to the Russo-Japanese War and immediately thereafter it was a source of good. Since then it has been a source of unmixed evil. The purpose of the Alliance is declared in the treaty to be the maintenance of the integrity of China and the preservation of the peace of the Far East. It has operated exactly to the contrary. Greater inroads have been made on China's sovereignty and more disturbance produced in the Far East in the lifetime of that treaty than ever before, more even than in the period of the Battle of the Concessions at the end of last century. The inroads have been made principally by Japan. Not only has Japan been emboldened by the Alliance to make its inroads, but by the Alliance Great Britain has been estopped from making open and effective protest. Now the Alliance as based on the present treaty has expired. For this reason and because of the changed international status brought about by the war Japan stands at the crossroads. Japan must now determine whether to continue on the road of aggressive imperialism, with the likelihood of collision with America, or to moderate this policy and concentrate on commercial expansion. The future of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance will be the most potent influence in determining that decision. This will be exerted in two directions.

The Japanese imperialist elements are themselves hesitating. For all their occasional blusterings they are none too sure of themselves. Their golden day is done. No longer gagged by the necessities of war the former Allied world is free to speak out on what it sees transpiring in the Far East and to act if necessary. For five years Japan's imperialists had unchallenged sway and made the most of it. Now that the day of reckoning has come, they are marking time until they see what the reckoning shall yield. Whatever may motivate the British in their decision as to the Alliance, renewal will be taken by Japan and the whole Far East as having but one significance: that Great Britain indorses Japan's past course in China and Siberia and will support it in the future. The Japanese imperialists certainly will act on that assumption.

If despite all Japan has done in carrying out its unconcealed policy of self-aggrandizement at the expense of the Far East, despite the whole world's harsh criticism of that policy, and despite America's objection to the Alliance—if despite all that Great Britain elects to renew it, the Japanese militarists will say with all logic: "We have nothing to regret, nothing to undo, nothing to change and nothing to fear. Great Britain is with us. In spite of America—in spite of America!—Great Britain is with us." They will not only resume their course but they will go farther and faster. If, when they were uncertain of Britain's attitude and there was danger of repudiation, they dared venture the Twenty-one Demands, what will they not dare with the assurance of Great Britain's support? Especially when that support is given over the opposition of the United States, the Power that most vigorously opposes Japan's imperialistic designs.

Denunciation of the Alliance on the other hand will give the militarists pause. It will be formal repudiation of Japan's foreign policy. It will signalize the world's unanimity in opposition to Japan's course. It will isolate Japan diplomatically. It will align Great Britain with America at least on the right of the weak nations of the Far East to maintain their independence and on equality of opportunity for all nations in China. That will not mean the abandonment forthwith by Japan of its national ambitions. But it will mean circumspection and moderation. Japan would not openly challenge the two most powerful nations on earth.

This is one of the two ways by which Britain's decision on the Alliance will influence Japan's choice of roles in the future. The other is slower but of greater moment in the long run. That is the effect on the Japanese people. The Japanese people have begun to learn since the World War. They have acquired a trifle of sophistication. The absence of an informed public opinion and the chauvinism deliberately implanted in them by their educational system makes the masses proof against any reaction to outside criticism, but at least they are aware of the universal suspicion in which Japan is held. They have seen it repeated at times in their press and have even reflected it themselves, as for example in the widespread opposition to the Siberian expedition and the popular demand for the evacuation of the troops from Siberia. The militarist rulers of Japan are beginning to be weighed in the balance at home. For Britain now to drop Japan as an ally would be a weight in the scale. It would also tend to open the minds of the masses to the prophets of reform in their midst.

In the world-wide spread of popular enlightenment that has come following the disillusion of the war a small but energetic and influential nucleus of liberal opinion has gathered in Japan. This class is not enamored of Japan's imperialistic triumphs. It is widely enough read to know the truth about them and to be sensitive to the justified

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

criticism by the outer world. It sees also that for their share of the triumphs the Japanese have only the shouting and the payment of the cost in taxes, while a narrowly restricted class gets the profits and the glory. In the growth of this still small and relatively insignificant liberal group lies the most promising though distant hope for a permanent better understanding between Japan and America. The millennium will not be ushered in by the coming to Japan of democracy, to be sure—there are big flourishing democracies on other Continents that are scarcely altruistic in their foreign relations—but there will at least be great diminution of the more flagrant abuses of which Japan has been guilty in recent years. Greater democracy will make impossible the existence of an irresponsible oligarchy that levies taxes arbitrarily and spends what it will on armament. Representative government tends to minimize the evil of extreme nationalism dreaming dreams of world conquest.

Now the rebuff to Japan's militarists by Great Britain at this time will hearten the liberal elements. It will give wider currency and added weight to their ideas. It will enable them to raise their voices more boldly in the press, in labor meetings, and even in the Diet. It will give them more authority among the masses, already wondering why there is world-wide condemnation of Japan. It will help bring to a head all the timid doubts among the Japanese themselves whether imperialism has paid, whether the diplomatic victory of the Twenty-one Demands was worth all it cost. Formal indorsement of the militarists' record by the British on the other hand will stiffen them in their internal high-handedness. They will flaunt their victory before the eyes of the masses as their vindication by a Western Power and cry down the small voice of protest. With their added prestige they will not have to hesitate even as much as they do now when their position is doubtful. Liberalism will be stilled and imperialism will be impregnable within.

Now, a fundamental condition of peace in the Far East is the curbing of Japanese militarist imperialism; not because it is Japanese, for the imperialism of any other Power would be equally dangerous. In this case, the issue has already been drawn between Japan and America. With a moderation of Japan's ambitions it can be peacefully composed. Without moderation it will not necessarily come to war, but all the precedents of history are in favor of the assumption that it will. At any rate, any act of any Power or Powers that not only prevents moderation but encourages Japanese expansion brings nearer the threat of war. That is precisely what the Anglo-Japanese Alliance does, and that is why the future of the Alliance is important to the American people and why they have a right to a voice in its determination. For it is aimed against them no less than if it were an offensive-and-defensive alliance specifically mentioning America. The text of the Treaty of Alliance is of no importance, for the principle remains unchanged.

For Great Britain, whether it realizes so or not, the question is whether it shall denounce the Alliance and speed the coming into power in Japan of every influence that makes for a permanent peace or renew the Alliance and sharpen all the issues in the Far East that make for war. For Great Britain the choice is, in a word, peace or war. And if it chooses the course which most likely means the latter —even if that monstrous calamity were to be averted by some unforeseeable development—Britain will have committed a hostile act against the Japanese people and the American people alike.

A Japanese Liberal's View

By K. K. KAWAKAMI

At the coming Disarmament Conference at Washington Japan will be the cynosure of all eyes. Apparently she is the *raison d'être* of the Conference, although a keen observer will not fail to detect various motives, not entirely pleasing, beneath the professed intentions of its promoters. Japan becomes a question because the great Powers of the Occident seem reluctant to observe the principle of live and let live in dealing with the peoples of the Orient. The Japanese problem is, in the last analysis, naught but an aspect of the broad and fundamental question of the inequitable distribution of the world's land and natural resources. This basic question few seem courageous enough to discuss.

Before discussing the specific case of Japan, let us consider Asia as a whole. Asia's total area measures some 17,206,000 square miles, of which 10,000,000 were before the war controlled by Western Powers as follows: Russia 6,495,970 square miles, England 1,998,220, Holland 586,980, France 247,580, America 114,370, Germany 193. As the outcome of the war the small German possessions in China have been wiped out, but British and French possessions in Asia have increased by more than 100,000 square miles. Today, therefore, Europe and America control 10,100,000 square miles of Asia with vast mineral resources.

Roughly speaking, the land area of the earth measures 52,825,000 square miles, supporting 1,751,700,000 inhabitants. Of this total area the Caucasian peoples occupy or control about 46,146,084 square miles. It will be seen that the Caucasian race, having completed the occupation of Europe and the Americas, has conquered and secured control of the whole of Australasia, almost all Africa, the greater part of Asia, as well as the adjacent islands. And the Caucasian peoples who control so vast a territory number only 623,000,000. In other words, there are 13.5 Caucasians to each square mile of land. The Treaty of Versailles, instead of relieving this condition, has aggravated it. Have not the victorious Powers stretched their hands further in the direction of the Levant, Arabia, Asia Minor, and Persia?

On the other hand, the native population of Asia numbers no less than 900,000,000. And yet they control only 6,679,000 square miles of territory, because Siberia and Turkestan are occupied by Russia, India by Great Britain, and Tongking and Cochin-China by France, while Tibet, Chinese Turkestan, Mongolia, and Northern Manchuria, aggregating 2,655,000 square miles, are fast passing under British or Russian control. In other words, there are 134.8 Asiatics to each square mile of Asiatic land.

It may, therefore, be safely said that Asia's 900,000,000 souls have been expropriated of most of their territory and are today permitted to possess only 6,679,000 square miles. This, of course, does not mean that Asiatics have been evicted from the Asiatic territories controlled by Europeans, and that 900,000,000 people are actually compelled to live within the area of 6,679,000 square miles, i.e., 134.8 to the square mile. It is true that the natives of Asia are permitted to continue their habitation in India, Cochin-China, Siberia, and other Asiatic territories which have passed under the European scepter. But the fact remains that Asiatic nations are, by this process of expropriation,

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

deprived of the opportunity to utilize the vast resources lying at their very doors.

It must be remembered that the Caucasian nations are always on the alert to exclude outside enterprises, and especially those of non-Caucasian peoples, from the territories they control. Even where they profess to follow the principles of free trade, they set up a barrier against non-Caucasian immigration. Moreover, by reason of their priority and their accumulated wealth, they have so firmly intrenched themselves that outsiders, most of all non-Caucasian outsiders, find little chance to launch new enterprises in competition with them.

Now let us consider the particular case of Japan. Even schoolchildren know that Japan consists of volcanic ranges. The country is virtually filled with mountains, affording but 15,000,000 acres of tillable land, or only 16 per cent of the total area. This allows each inhabitant only one-quarter of an acre of farm land. In California farm land per capita of population is about nine acres. In Great Britain 77 per cent of its land area is agricultural land; in Italy 76 per cent; in France 70 per cent, and in Germany 65 per cent. Because of the peculiar topography of Japan the country appears, and as a matter of fact is, much more crowded than may be judged from statistics on paper. No traveler, not even the most unobserving, can fail to get this impression. Rudyard Kipling gives expression to this common impression when he writes in "From Sea to Sea" as follows:

> "How many people do you suppose the land supports to the square mile?" said the professor, at a turn in the homeward road. He had been reading statistics.
>
> "Nine hundred," I said at a venture. "It's thicker set with humans than Sarun or Behar. Say one thousand."
>
> "Two thousand two hundred and fifty odd. Can you believe it?"
>
> "Looking at the landscape I can, but I don't suppose India will believe it. S'pose I write fifteen hundred?"
>
> "They'll say you exaggerate just the same. Better stick to the true total. Two thousand two hundred and fifty-six to the square mile, and not a sign of poverty in the houses. How do they do it?"

A few years ago the Japanese Government, pressed by the increasing shortage of land, made a thorough investigation into lands that might be reclaimed. It was found that about 5,000,000 acres might be available for reclamation. Consequently the legislature approved, in 1918, an expenditure of $2,000,000 on the nine-year program of reclaiming 700,000 acres as an experiment. The Government is not at all certain that the result will be successful, because the people have, under the natural pressure of overpopulation, already utilized even hillsides and sandy beaches. Meanwhile it is making great efforts to increase farm produce upon the soil now available. Due to these efforts the yield of crops has increased 35 per cent from 1894 to 1920. But there is a limit to the productivity of the soil, in spite of all the fertilizing processes the farmer may employ.

But it is not only the question of land shortage and overpopulation that weigh heavily upon Japan. Equally depressing is the fact that she has not within her own confines adequate mineral resources essential to modern industry. She depends almost entirely upon foreign countries for iron ores. Of coal she has little that can be used in the steel industry. But the most serious handicap is the lack of petroleum, a material which is becoming more and more important in transportation and in manufacturing industries. If you watch the chessboard of European and American diplomacy, you cannot fail to see how each nation is trying to outwit the other in gaining control of oil resources in different parts of the world.

And here is Japan, struggling to solve, partly at least, her population problem by becoming an industrial and trading nation, and yet harassed by the lack of three essential materials of industry—oil, iron, and coal. If she steps an inch out of her narrow precincts and tries to obtain, say in Siberia or China, the privilege of working such mineral resources, down comes the sword of Damocles in the shape of protest, official or otherwise, from the Western nations.

It is obvious that the great Powers of the West have accumulated more land than they should rightly own—than they can hold without doing injustice to the smaller nations, which find themselves in sad plight, due to the impossibility of finding room for their surplus population. The injustice of holding such vast territories would not be so obvious if they were to recognize, in favor of the small nations, the principle of unhindered immigration and of unrestricted enterprise within those territories. It is when they adopt a hide-bound policy of exclusion that they become a menace to the welfare of the human race.

A program to establish permanent peace with justice should contain one of two propositions, namely, a more equitable distribution of territory or the removal of the exclusive policy adopted by Western colonial Powers against Asiatic peoples. To the staid thinkers of the Occident this must seem a picturesque and Quixotic proposition. It is no more picturesque than were trade unionism or woman suffrage at their inception. Just as the political and economic theories which were denounced as visionary and perverted less than a century ago have since gradually been woven into the practical policies of various nations, so the above proposition will in time be seriously considered, not only by thinkers and theorists, but by practical men of affairs in all parts of the world. Unless we make supreme efforts to realize this ideal there remains but one alternative—the perpetuation of the savage "law of the survival of the fittest," which is equivalent to the Bismarckian axiom "Might is right."

Contributors to This Issue

HARRY EMERSON FOSDICK is minister of the First Presbyterian Church of New York and professor of practical theology at Union Theological Seminary.

ROME G. BROWN is publisher of the Minneapolis *Tribune*, former president of the Minnesota Bar Association, and a member of the executive committee of the American Bar Association.

FRAZIER HUNT was special war correspondent for the Chicago *Tribune*.

NATHANIEL PEFFER, an authority on the Far East, will represent *The Nation* at the Conference.

HELENA HILL WEED has traveled extensively in Haiti. She has attended all the hearings of the Senatorial Investigating Committee which for the past four weeks has been inquiring into the American Occupation of Haiti and Santo Domingo.

K. K. KAWAKAMI, a Japanese who has resided in this country all his life, is well known for his writings on contemporary problems, particularly those relating to Japan and the Pacific.

OLIVER S. MORRIS is the editor of the *Non-Partisan Leader*.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

And a Child Shall Lead Them

By FRAZIER HUNT

SOMEONE has said that a very wise way to solve the disarmament problem was to disarm. This is exactly what poor, benighted Mexico is doing. On March 15 of this year President Obregon issued a decree establishing the strength of the army at 50,000 and ordering that the reduction from the present strength must be effective by midnight, March 31, 1922. And the same decree orders that part of each day must be spent by the soldiers in the public schools of the locality where they are serving.

But I am getting ahead of my story. On December 1 of last year the regular army of Mexico consisted of 338 generals, 15,891 colonels, majors, captains, and lieutenants, and 77,295 soldiers. This was only the regular army. Following the defeat of Carranza thousands of revolutionists and so-called bandits gladly made terms with the new Government and for the moment became a part of the army. This move was necessary for two reasons: first, it secured a livelihood through military pay for these men who had been following wars for years; second, it brought these armed men under military discipline and government control.

This enrolling of all the revolutionary anti-Carranza forces brought to the regular army an addition of 331 generals—Mexico has always been long on generals—3,101 officers, and 15,837 men, and raised the grand total of the army on the first of the year to 669 generals, 18,992 officers, and 93,132 men, not to mention 49,063 horses and 6,039 mules. To keep this force going an appropriation of 131,000,000 pesos for the army and 35,000,000 for the arsenals was necessary out of a total federal appropriation of nearly 270,000,000—more than 50 per cent of the total government income.

A council of three, consisting of Obregon, Villareal, Secretary of Agriculture, and Estrada, Secretary of War, was organized to operate with the knife on this huge, dangerous burden. The first thing done was to lay out a general triple plan of action. The army, it was decided at once, was to be reduced to practically half its size. This was to be done first by voluntary discharges; second, by forced discharge of incompetent soldiers and those who could not establish claim to rank; and third, by the formation of a number of soldier agriculture colonies. All three of these schemes were immediately put into practice.

Soldiers voluntarily discharged were temporarily concentrated in reserve depots and put on half pay until they could secure good jobs. Those who wanted to go on the army colonies were gathered in groups and put on government lands while their colony farms were being prepared for them. When the lands had been cleared and sufficient buildings erected the new occupants were supplied with farm machinery, horses, etc., and given in addition from three to six months pay in advance. And the Government stands back of them to give them any assistance that may be necessary.

Let it be clearly stated that this was no wild tropical dream. It has been and is being actually worked out throughout all parts of Mexico. On December of last year 2,000 officers and 19,000 men were discharged under this plan; in January of this year 5,000 officers and men; in February 4,000, divided equally between the eight soldier colonies of General Saturnino Cadillo in San Luis Potosi and the ten colonies under General Carrera Torres. Besides these the troops of General Guillermo Meixuerio of Oaxaca and thousands of Zapatistas in the state of Morelos have been settled on the land.

"Bandit colonies" these are popularly called but there is no sting in the words. I know of no greater adventure in pioneering than this back-to-the-land movement of these soldiers who have been fighting and hiding and battling for years that peace and land might be theirs. Pancho Villa is one of them—Pancho Villa the despised bandit—Pancho Villa the beloved knight and Robin Hood. In the hills of Durango he and some 800 of his faithful followers are settled in a great beautiful valley where they can work out the things they have been dreaming of during the long, terrible ten years of war and revolution. "I only want to live here in peace and quiet," he told me a few months ago when I spent a day with him on his far-away plantation. "I want these common people here with me to prosper and be happy. I want them to have the land and to be educated. These are the two great things for the common people of Mexico—land and education." Slowly the dream of the brave, misunderstood revolutionary fighters of Mexico is being realized. They *are* getting the land, and little by little the education that is so sorely needed will be theirs.

It is a great step on the part of the Government—this establishment of the soldier colonies. It has a double virtue: it is not only giving the men the land that they fought so long and bravely for, but it is solving the question of how to get rid of the top-heavy army and its terrific burden of expense. By Presidential decree this army must be reduced to 50,000 men by next March—practically a 50 per cent reduction—but it is not to stop here. At about the same time Francisco Serrano, Assistant Secretary of War, issued an order dividing the country into six military zones and allotting to each zone 6,000 officers and men. This means that 36,000 officers and men will soon compose the entire Mexican army.

On the day of the issuance of this order a circular was sent to all state governors putting at their disposal without state cost all troops in their districts for state road work; at the same time General Calles, chief of Cabinet and Minister of Interior, issued an order with the approval of President Obregon, whereby all officers in active service whose duties are diminished during these times of peace are obliged to work in the various government offices, federal and state, with no extra pay; in the concentration camps schools have been opened and brave steps have been taken to help fit the soldier for a useful civil life; and the Mexican navy, small though it is, has been ordered to go in the business of carrying freight, passengers, and mail along the coast towns where service has always been poor.

So it goes in barbarous, benighted Mexico: an army cut in half; soldiers put on the land that they had fought so long for; schools for fighters, cheated and abused by the old order; and a navy that is being turned into commerce ships.

Viva Mexico!

Report of and comment on the proceedings of the Second Assembly of the League of Nations, by Robert Dell, will appear in the forthcoming issue of The Nation.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Hearing the Truth About Haiti

By HELENA HILL WEED

HOW Haiti was reduced to the state of a conquered province; how the process was prepared in Washington long before intervention began; how little excuse there was for American intervention, and how little America has accomplished there apart from killing Haitians—these things have become a matter of public record, as told by the men responsible for the intervention and as revealed in the United States Navy's secret dispatch-book, in the hearings before the Senate Commission on Haiti and Santo Domingo, Medill McCormick, chairman, these past weeks. The newspapers for some reason have been silent, but here are the facts as they have become part of the record:

Roger L. Farnham, vice-president of the National City Bank of New York, which controls the National Bank of Haiti—the man whom many Haitians regard as the responsible author of their troubles with the United States—testified of the American Occupation:

I know of nothing that has been undertaken to develop with the natives the agricultural resources of the island or seriously to develop schools or educational methods. The only schools are those which existed before the Occupation maintained by the Jesuit priests. I never knew of any policy for the development of Haiti. I think that is the trouble with Haiti. In 1918 Haiti was as quiet as a graveyard. Pacification had been completed and the relations between the natives and the Occupation were good. One and all awaited some plan of development. Many programs were suggested but all in Haiti were powerless. Individuals and groups of Haitians appealed to the United States Government officials in Haiti, the Financial Adviser, and the American Minister. I personally came to Washington and called on the Secretary of State and suggested that something be done and be done promptly, but nothing was done. Then the military leaders began to talk to the people and tell them that they were worse off than before the Occupation, which had brought them nothing but the death of their relatives and friends in the early days of the Occupation. Out of that situation grew conditions worse than those that prevailed when we first went in. . . . The Occupation was always drifting in the absence of any policy in Washington. As far as I know nothing was ever done for the economic rehabilitation of the country, the establishment of schools generally, the development of agriculture, or the development of the capacity of the Haitian people for self-government. The Occupation was a failure and, when I say a failure, I mean the failure of the United States Government. Washington, not Port au Prince, was to blame.

Admiral Caperton, the commanding officer of the American naval forces in Haiti from 1915 to 1917, said to members of the committee in a dazed way:

What I cannot understand is why has not the treaty been put into operation. We were sent down there to pacify the island and put through the treaty. We did our work and the treaty was ratified September 16, 1915, exactly as the United States demanded it. Now we are in complete power and the Haitians are powerless to do anything for themselves. Yet we do not keep our agreements made with them in this treaty. I cannot understand it. I like the Haitians and I am sorry for them, and I hope that something can be done for them.

Rev. L. Ton Evans, for 28 years a Baptist missionary in Haiti, testified that there was no condition which justified the intervention; that the Occupation was accomplished in direct violation of public pledges made in both America and Haiti when the landings were made; that the Occupation in many parts of the country was carried on in a lawless, inhuman manner; that Haitian independence was deliberately destroyed and their land alienated in violation of the most solemn pledges made to the Haitian people by the United States Government; that an unwanted President was forced on the people by military coercion; that a treaty "legalizing" these acts of political and international violence was imposed by military force, and a new constitution, putting the stamp of legality upon this illegal treaty, was obtained by unconstitutional methods, and that finally all efforts at criticism or resistance, moral or physical, were suppressed by military coercion and compulsion.

The insertion in the record of the Navy's hitherto secret dispatch-book disclosed that American intervention in Haiti had long been planned and that the assassination of President Guillaume Sam in 1915 was only a plausible excuse. A treaty giving the United States certain rights over Haiti was drafted in Washington at least as early as July 2, 1914.[1] Four months later—almost a year before actual intervention—a series of letters between Mr. Bryan, Secretary of State, President Wilson, and Mr. Daniels, Secretary of the Navy, disclosed that a naval demonstration in Haitian waters was already planned to support the United States policy because "a renewal of negotiations seems probable." Landing of troops was already contemplated. The Haitian Government, however, then and again early in 1915, refused to yield and maintained its independence. Then came the revolution of July, 1915. American troops were landed forthwith.

Haitians say that this "revolution" was an almost unanimous political uprising against the President because he was believed to be ready to agree to the treaty which the United States had been demanding for more than a year, giving the United States control of the Haitian custom houses. Since the income from the customs receipts was almost the sole source of government revenue, such control, they say, was sure to mean the loss of political independence. The lives and property of foreigners, or indeed of Haitians themselves not directly involved in the revolutionary activities, were never in danger. Admiral Caperton himself, on cross-examination by Ernest Angell, attorney for the Haiti-Santo Domingo Independence Society, admitted that no foreigners or their property were molested in this revolution; he said his landings were made "as a precautionary measure." He stated that he could remember no instances in earlier revolutions when the lives or property of foreigners had been attacked. Mr. Farnham corroborated this testimony, saying:

Before the American Occupation there has never been any danger to any white man who traveled through the country. I have been through while "revolutions" were on and a white man was never molested. If he kept out of the mess himself and minded his own business he was perfectly safe. After the American Occupation many of the Haitians seemed to turn against the whites and all white men looked alike. The natives were aroused by the talk of the chiefs and generals that the whites were going to make slaves of them again. That was the usual cry, and that the Haitians would have to resist the

[1] The text of this as of other documents referred to in Mrs. Weed's article will be found in the International Relations Section of this issue of *The Nation*.—Editor.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

marines if they wanted to get rid of them. Otherwise they would be made slaves. That is the fear uppermost in the minds of all Haitians, ignorant as they are. . . . They observed their foreign obligations always.

Mr. Evans in his testimony confirmed this statement, adding:

After American commercial investments began in Haiti in 1910, the Germans who had heretofore controlled 95 per cent of the commercial life, fearing American competition, began to tell the Haitians to beware of the Americans, that they were coming to steal their land and reenslave them. When the Americans finally did come and by military force compelled them to sign a treaty that deprived them of their political independence and alienated their land, and when they were reduced to actual physical slavery and its accompanying cruel treatment under the illegal application of the old corvée law, they believed that what the Germans had told them of the Americans was true. It became a matter of loyalty to their country, their independence, and their human liberties to fight the Americans with every weapon at their command.

Much propaganda has been devoted to defining "Cacos" and revolutionists as bandits. Admiral Caperton defined "Caco" as a "mountaineer of northern Haiti who would fight for pay in the ranks of the revolutionary leader who offered him the most pay. The Cacos after the Occupation were the backbone of the opposition to the Occupation." "All the Cacos were opposed to the Occupation," he said, "and all those who opposed the Occupation joined the ranks of the revolution under the standard of the Cacos." He made it clear that the term Caco as used in the naval orders and messages meant "an opponent of the Occupation," and that a "revolution" was "any organized movement against the Occupation or its policies."

The revolution which gave excuse for the landing of troops was led by Bobo, who with his followers claimed that President Guillaume Sam was about to agree to the treaty submitted by the United States in 1914, giving the United States absolute control of the custom houses of Haiti. The revolution was successful. The victorious troops entered Port au Prince and demanded the abdication of Sam. On the night of July 27 Sam ordered the summary execution of seventy political prisoners, whose only crime had been to oppose his political administration. He then fled, through a secret door in the wall which separated the palace from the French Legation, into technical "French soil." In the morning the executions became known and the enraged relatives and friends of the murdered men, knowing Sam's hiding place, broke into the French Legation and, without touching the person or property of other occupants, hunted out the fugitive, dragged him outside the wall, and killed him in the city streets. When their revenge was satisfied quiet was restored, and no further rioting occurred. A Committee of Safety, which Admiral Caperton testified was composed of responsible citizens who did not participate in party strife and always acted in this capacity when governments fell by revolution or violence, then took over the governmental functions of the city. They were in control when the marines landed.

The Haitian Congress was then in session and the next day it was about to elect a President to succeed Sam, but this was postponed by the request of Admiral Caperton. The Admiral reported to the Navy Department on August 2 that he had put off the election because if he had allowed it Bobo would surely have been elected. He said he believed he could control the Congress but that he would need another regiment of marines "if U. S. desires to negotiate treaty for financial control Haiti." He earnestly requested to be informed fully of the policy of the United States. Apparently he was not yet perfectly sure why he had been ordered to land troops. Dispatches flew back and forth between Caperton and Washington. Caperton told the Department that as long as there was no President he had everything in his complete control. Washington directed him to assume full military control of the capital and not to permit an election. *Haiti was ready, willing, and anxious to restore constitutional government but was not permitted to do so by the American forces until a candidate for President had been found who would pledge himself in advance to the ratification of a treaty with the United States embodying any demands that the United States might make.*

Among the candidates sought was J. N. Legere, former Haitian Minister to the United States. He sent word to Admiral Caperton: "Tell the Admiral that I cannot become a candidate until I know what demands the United States will make. I must be in a position to defend my country. I am for Haiti, not for the United States." In Dartiguenave the Admiral finally found a candidate who would "agree in advance to any terms the United States demanded and professed to believe that any terms the United States might demand would be for Haiti's benefit."

On August 8 Admiral Caperton telegraphed the Department as follows:

Senators, deputies, and citizens clamoring for an election. Today was fixed for election but postponed by my request. . . . Request be informed immediately earliest date Department willing for an election to take place for purpose allaying excitement. Will use every effort delay election, but cannot guarantee delay later than Thursday unless use force. . . .

All this time Washington was giving out statements to the effect that the absence of a President and constitutional government in Haiti necessitated the troops remaining there. On the following day the Navy Department sent this dispatch to Admiral Caperton:

Whenever the Haitians wish you may permit the election of a President to take place. The election of Dartiguenave is preferred by the United States. You will assure the Haitians that the United States has no other motive than the establishing of a firm and lasting government by the Haitian people and wishes to assist them now, and at all times in the future, *to maintain both their political independence and their territorial integrity unimpaired.*

Admiral Caperton so assured them in a public proclamation. In view of the negotiations which preceded, and the acts which followed that proclamation, can one conclude otherwise than that the Navy Department instructed Admiral Caperton to lie?

Admiral Caperton reported to Washington on August 11 that he had caused the presidential candidates and the Congress which was to elect the President to be assembled before him and the American Charge d'Affaires the previous evening and had informed them of the intentions and policies of the United States Government, and that on account of the hostile and disturbing influence of the Bobo and Zamor factions he had informed them that "they would be considered public enemies of the United States if they attempted to further menace the policies of the United States." The following day, with the hall of Congress policed by American marines, with Captain Beach, the Admiral's diplomatic and political representative, on the floor

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of the assembly as the voting progressed, Dartiguenave was almost unanimously elected.

Admiral Caperton was then instructed by Secretary Daniels to push the treaty through:

> You will please prepare a draft of treaty as outlined in this cablegram and without delay submit it informally to the President-elect and advise him that this Department believes that, as a guaranty of sincerity and interest of the Haitians in orderly peaceful development of their country, the Haitian Congress will be pleased to pass forthwith a resolution authorizing the President-elect to conclude, *without modification*, the treaty submitted to you. . . .

The constitution of Haiti at that time—we later had it changed—contained the following words:

> The Republic of Haiti is one and indivisible, essentially free, sovereign, and independent. Its territory and dependent islands are inviolable, and cannot be alienated by any treaty or convention.

Secretary Daniels's instructions to Admiral Caperton required insertion in the treaty of a provision ceding Mole Saint Nicolas to the United States. The method of ratification proposed was as unconstitutional as the treaty itself. Our officials, however, continued to proclaim to the world that we had intervened in Haiti to maintain *law* and order and to teach the Haitians constitutional government!

The Congress refused to accede to the puppet President's request for ratification. Immediately under orders from Washington the custom houses and with them the financial resources of the Government were seized. Secretary Daniels instructed Admiral Caperton to have the American Charge d'Affaires confer with Dartiguenave in order to have him solicit American occupation of the custom houses—"but whether President so requests or not proceed to carry out State Department's desire." Even Dartiguenave balked at such hypocrisy. The orders further directed Caperton to take over all the receipts (regardless of the fact that much of them was pledged, and had been for years, for the interest on Haiti's foreign debt) and to deposit them in the local branches of the National City Bank's Haiti connection, and to draw against this account for expenses of the Occupation, the administration of the custom houses, and such public works as local military administrators saw fit. (These works, the Admiral testifies, were instituted primarily for military advantage.) The balance was to be held in trust for Haiti by the Navy Department. *It was this arbitrary act of the American forces which caused Haiti to pass the interest payments on her foreign debt for the first time in her history.*

The adoption of a new constitution was forced upon Haiti by similar methods.

When Admiral Caperton was asked how he justified the difference between his proclamation to Haiti on August 9, 1915, declaring "that the United States had no designs on the political independence or the territorial integrity of Haiti," and his proclamation declaring martial law on September 3 and the series of acts which destroyed the political independence of Haiti, he replied that he did it under orders. He said he had to do it to protect the forces, that they were in danger of their lives so great was the opposition to the intervention. General Smedley Butler advised against lifting martial law during the coming visit of the Senate Committee of Investigation in Haiti, because he feared that if martial law was lifted it would mean death to the marines because of the bitterness against the Occupation. "When the flag is ordered into a foreign country there goes with it the absolute right of protection of their lives to the officers and men who carry the flag," he said.

Thus far, then, the hearings at Washington have disclosed that the intervention was prepared by Messrs. Bryan, Wilson, and Daniels—under whose inspiration is not yet clear—a year before it began; that no danger threatened foreigners' lives or property until after American Occupation was complete; that American military force was used to obtain, first, the election of a puppet President pledged to act under our orders, then to force acceptance of an unconstitutional and bitterly hated treaty, and finally illegally to revise the Haitian constitution so that foreigners—in particular the National City Bank of New York—might hold land; and that in six years of Occupation we have done nothing for Haiti and have not even been able to establish order, so bitter is the patriotic hostility of the Haitians to foreign intervention. The hearings continue.

The Vote of the North Dakota Farmers

By OLIVER S. MORRIS

St. Paul, Minn., November 1

AT this writing the recall in North Dakota, directed against the Nonpartisan League State administration, appears in the main successful. Governor Frazier is recalled by a majority which was 11,000 when the League headquarters conceded defeat, but which will probably be cut to 3,000 by the time missing precincts, strongly Nonpartisan, are tabulated. With him the Attorney General, William Lemke, member of the National Executive Committee of the League, who succeeded Townley in active charge of the League organization in the State, and John Hagan, farmer and Commissioner of Agriculture and Labor, are recalled by approximately the same majority, available returns indicate. The total vote will reach 220,000.

Returns on the Independent Voters' Association initiative measures, intended to restrict and denature the farmers' industrial program, are being compiled last, and it is not yet certain whether they have been lost or have barely carried. They are running behind the Independent candidates. The most important of them calls for the liquidation of the Bank of North Dakota, the most promising and to date the most successful part of the North Dakota experiment. If carried, a new State department will take over the rural credit functions of the State bank, but the rest of the bank will be closed. The Independents promised to give the State mill and the terminal elevator projects of the State a fair trial, but one of the important initiative measures cuts down the amount of bonds that can be issued and the amount of capital that can be invested in these experiments. The recalled State officials compose the State Industrial Commission, which has charge of the industrial program, so that anti-Leaguers now control that important body.

R. A. Nestos, who will supplant the farmer Governor within thirty days, is a lawyer and Sunday-school leader of Minot. He has been an office-seeker for years, having been defeated once for the United States Senatorship. He was born in Norway—he was, indeed, selected by the Independents largely because of that fact. The State's popula-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion is predominatingly of Scandinavian descent. Frazier, born in Minnesota, is of Scotch antecedents. Nestos hails from the western part of the State, where the greatest Nonpartisan strength lies. That was another reason for his selection as a candidate, but available returns show that he barely carried his own county and that the League piled up its usual majorities in most western counties. The League carried the Second and Third congressional districts, respectively, in the middle and western thirds of the State. It lost only the First District, but by great majorities. The biggest cities of the State, Fargo and Grand Forks, are in that district.

The reasons for the overturn are not far to seek. The Nonpartisans captured the State offices and the lower branch of the legislature in 1916, but the Senate was half hold-over and it was not until two years later, following the 1918 election, that the Nonpartisans were able to have the legislature enact laws to carry out their program. The following year the League was forced to defend these laws at a referendum precipitated by the Independents, so that the program was held up several months more. This was followed by an attack in State and Federal courts on the constitutionality of the industrial program, which held up the experiment for another year. And then, when the bonds could be legally sold, the financial boycott against the State set in. It was not until the last few months that any considerable part of these bonds could be sold. While the State Bank at first financed the construction work on the State mill and elevator, it was hampered by the success of a law initiated by the Independents which deprived the bank of a large part of the public deposits. This law was adopted by a narrow margin at the election last year which saw Governor Frazier returned to office for the third time. Thus the recall campaign found the League program in its principal parts inoperative after nearly seven years of fighting and sticking by the farmers. The farmers were discouraged and disappointed. It seemed in vain that they had spent money and energy for seven years to win seven hotly contested State-wide primaries and elections. True, the State Bank had at last sold a considerable part of the State bonds to carry out the program, but this sale had been attacked during the recall campaign by another suit which promised to cause another year's delay and uncertainty. In the meantime the State had had repeated crop failures or near ones and the after-the-war deflation had hit the farmers first and worse than any other industry. All this combined caused a sort of despair which made the siren promises of the Independents sound plausible. They promised to give the mill and elevator projects a fair trial, to continue under a separate commission the farm loan function of the Bank of North Dakota, and to give the State a conservative business administration which would turn out the radicals, dreamers, and experimenters, and thus restore State credit and prosperity. It was only necessary, on the basis of last year's election figures, to convince about five thousand farmers who had been voting with the Leaguers that this was the way out. And the Independents did convince about that many, which accounts for the result.

Some minor causes of the defeat should be mentioned. The ambitions of some of the North Dakota League leaders succeeded over a year ago, with the cry of "more democracy in the League," in eliminating Townley from active charge of League work in the State. The recall defense campaign did not have the benefit of his impelling personality and organizing genius. For the first time since the League began its work, Townley campaign meetings were not held. No other League speaker was able to draw the immense crowds that always featured his tours of the State. He was not in the State until election night. The next day at Fargo he read the returns which spelled defeat while awaiting the formal issuance of commitment papers in Jackson County, Minnesota, marking the beginning of his ninety days' term for "discouraging enlistments" during the war, recently upheld by the courts.

What will be the future of the Nonpartisan movement? It is too early to predict. The Leaguers have a good chance to come back in the election next year, for the Independents will find it difficult to fulfil their promises to both Leaguers and anti-Leaguers. The defeat may well be merely the ebb tide in a movement that has had profound effect on the farmers of the West. Whatever happens to the League as such, the great farmer movement which started fifty years ago and of which the League was one aspect will go on, modified and made more virile by the League's ideas and methods. To get office in North Dakota the Independents had to promise to give some of the main features of the League program a trial—it may even be that defeat of the initiative measures may put the Independents in office with a mandate to carry out the League program. Other parties and politicians will have to make the same promises to get the million farmer votes which the League has educated into different ways of thinking in various Western States.

For a Shy Lover

By GENEVIEVE TAGGARD

If you will poise your forefoot in my pool,
I will not loose a ripple, Beautiful.
Crackle the fern-stems, arch aloft and stare,
See! there's no fright for you, anywhere.
A leaf shall not lift, nor a shade shake
You and your shy love away from my lake.
I know the noon is a blaze for you,
This gaunt forest, a maze for you:
Kneel near a drop of water on stone.
No one comes plunging. You are alone.
Today I am opal tinged with blue,
My color darkens with the glassy heat,
And I listen for hoofs. Am I timid, too?
Noon is my enemy! Thrust in your feet!
Trample this silver, trample this sand,
I will not startle you, Little One; stand
Slim as the larch, there, I'll not take
Even your shade to the naked ache
Of my lessening waters. If you lean,
Another faun, like you, but green
Will flick his ears and curve his throat,
His shadow hoof will lift between
These pebble-splotches. Will you float,
Mingle and drowse and touch me, Beautiful?
If you come down some blown noon to my pool,
I will be quiet, I will be cool.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Genus Professor

By MAX McCONN

AS a minor administrative official connected with a great university—you cannot say "university" nowadays without also saying "great"—I have had exceptional opportunities for the observation of professors. I have been with them but not of them. I have breathed the same air, heavy with learning, eaten the same food (alas!) at the faculty club, yet have remained detached, disinterested, aloof.

Nevertheless, one cannot be even superficially associated with so strongly marked a fraternity without picking up some of their catchwords and preconceptions. The instinct of imitation is irresistible, and within a few months after I came among them I was devastatingly overwhelmed by the great professorial ideal of Research. But what should I research into? Everything under heaven is being investigated here, from Indo-Germanic roots to those humbler Hibernian tubers known as potatoes. But I had neglected to devote my youth to the rigor of "preliminary training" in any solid subject. At length, however, I had an inspiration. I would take the professor himself for my field! As a subject for research he was the more respectable from the fact that the results could be of practical interest to no one. A really scrumptious subject.

I set to work at once, following the most approved methods, so far as I could make out what those methods are. I collected and described hundreds of specimens. I haunted the Library after office hours and compiled a huge bibliography. Fortunately it is not necessary, as I understand, to read the items in one's own bibliography; a bibliography, like beauty, is its own excuse for being. You should see my rows of pasteboard boxes, all filled with neat slips of uniform size, on which the characteristics of all the professors I have known are exhaustively cross-referenced. The mere exterior view of those shabby boxes is enough to stir the pale blood of any scholar.

The results of my research are to be embodied, of course, in a Thesis, which I hope to offer shortly for a doctor's degree in the Department of Curious Humanity. In the meantime my conclusions are briefly set forth in the article that follows, published here for the sake of forestalling another student who, I have heard, is working on the same subject and might otherwise beat me to it.

My conclusions naturally take the form of a Classification, which, I assure you, is the very best kind of conclusion. I have differentiated four principal types or species of the GENUS PROFESSOR, as follows: (1) *Professor antiquus*, the old-fashioned professor; (2) *Professor germanicus*, the German professor; (3) *Professor bolshevikicus*, the wild-eyed professor; (4) *Professor uptodate-icus*, the efficient professor (who is really an embryo dean). There are, of course, innumerable subspecies and mixed species, which will be comprehensively dealt with in my Thesis, but in this résumé only the pure or clearly defined types can be described.

(1) *Professor antiquus*

The *Professor antiquus*, or old-fashioned professor, is plainly the parent stock, from which all the other varieties have been more or less recently developed by the play of powerful evolutionary forces. His fossil remains are to be found in all strata of academic geology. In the deposits of the Athenian and Alexandrian eras, and again much later in the epoch of Paris, numerous specimens are found. But probably this species had its most congenial habitat and flourished most abundantly at Oxford and Cambridge, and more recently in the small institutions of the United States, so long as they remained small. He is nearly extinct today, at least in the universities. It is even customary to refer prematurely to surviving specimens as being already "fossils."

Useless to inveigh against the march of evolution, and a scientist should have no emotions. Yet it is difficult not to lament the nearly complete elimination of this variety. He was a harmless, interesting, and in many ways attractive organism. He was endowed with a remarkable versatility. He could and did teach many different subjects. Such a combination as Greek, political economy, and "natural philosophy" (meaning physics) had no more terrors for him than it might have had for Aristotle or Leonardo. Of course he considered Greek the most important! Besides this, he was usually a preacher, a practical gardener (since a substantial part of his sustenance was drawn from his garden), and an expert baby-tender and helper with the family washing on Mondays. In his leisure, which somehow remained abundant, he was probably an amateur "naturalist" (he failed as absurdly as Nature herself does to differentiate sharply among the different branches of natural science) and a devoted reader of the English classics and of a few standard magazines. Moreover, he had a curious fondness for those nuisances of professorial life, the students in his classes, and spent a great deal of time with them, admitting them to his home, chatting with them about all kinds of subjects on which he was certainly no specialist, and giving them advice in their adolescent dilemmas, religious, amatory, financial, and what not.

On the other hand, his limitations were no less striking. He mingled little with his fellow men—took no part in the "movements" of his time. His orbit ran between his garden and library, the college, and the church of which he was a member. He belonged to practically no "societies." Above all, he did not write books or even articles. If his specialty was Greek, as it usually was, he was content to mull over and over his Homer (never so much as challenging the existence of that legendary blind old singer) and a few Platonic dialogues and the plays of Sophocles. He appeared to enjoy these works immensely, and he induced a few students to do likewise. I remember one of this species under whom I read the "Apology"—a good many years ago. When his steel-rimmed spectacles slipped down to perch grotesquely on the tip of his nose and he stared intently over them into space and talked of Socrates, the irreverence of my youth was quelled, and I glimpsed a vision of moral steadfastness, the beauty of which I have never forgotten. But I ask you, was that the business of a professor of Greek? He quite neglected to prepare any disquisitions on the accents or the iota subscript. He compiled no *indices verborum*. In a word, he did not "contribute."

The other professors (belonging to the more recent varieties) used to spy him in his garden on fine spring days, digging in the ground. They would lean on the fence and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

say to him, "Cummins"—that wasn't his real name, of course, but it will serve—"Cummins, why do you waste your time like this? Why don't you write a book?" Cummins might have been annoyed if he hadn't dreamed over Socrates until he had lost the capacity for such natural feelings. Even he was perplexed. Cummins didn't *want* to write a book! He wanted to dig in his garden. How could such a creature expect to avoid extinction?

(2) *Professor germanicus*

Coming to the *Professor germanicus*, or German professor, I must protest at the outset against a probable misinterpretation of my terminology. I do not refer exclusively to the professor living in Germany, and not at all to the recent variety of professor in that country which the imperial autocracy utilized so insidiously to incite his fellow citizens to the late cataclysm of aggression. Treitschke and his ilk were not true to the original type of German professor. They really belonged to a newer variety to be discussed later.

By the German professor I mean the laborious, exhaustive investigator of some narrowly circumscribed specialty—the Latin vocative, for example, the feeding habits of *Cimex lectularius* (the bedbug), the jawbone of the ass, or some similarly alluring topic. The primary indication for the determination of this species is a total indifference to any question of practical utility in connection with his field of study. He is willing to spend a lifetime of assiduous labor on—anything. The isolation of some deadly germ that has a special predilection for human babies as a place of residence is to him just as good a subject as the occurrence of the ablative absolute throughout Latin literature from Livius Andronicus to Apuleius—and no better. As a matter of fact, it happens every once in a while that the results of his investigations prove to be almost sensationally valuable to his fellow men. But this must always be from his point of view a mere accident—often indeed an annoying, even mortifying accident; for it renders him liable to have "popular" articles written about himself and his work, and thus to lose caste among his colleagues.

The evolution of the *Professor germanicus* from the *Professor antiquus* is most instructive. It affords a truly beautiful example of response to a change of environment. A number of years ago, in Germany originally, a powerful new ingredient was suddenly injected into the mental food supply of the parent stock. The generic name for this new ingredient was the *journal*—a sort of magazine published quarterly or monthly or even oftener, and exclusively filled with lucubrations by professors. It was an exceedingly dry, unwholesome-looking kind of provender, and the fully adult members of the species, like Cummins, avoided it. But the young partook of it greedily. The effect was to force their development in one particular direction, and stunt it in all other directions. They soon came to have but one desire in life, namely, to write articles to be published in the journals, or books to be reviewed in them. When once a young professor had seen his name in print you could predict-with-confidence that he would belong to the new species. Of course no one else saw it there except a very few other professors of his own subject. But it was his seeing it himself that constituted the potent virus. Within a few months a half dozen of his most characteristic mental organs would degenerate into so many vermiform appendices—his interest in his garden, in his hobbies outside his specialty, in all general literature, in his students, even sometimes in his own children. He would become a mere machine for the alternate production and consumption of the contents of journals.

From the standpoint of the professors themselves this was surely a sad transformation. But in the total economy of Nature—from the social point of view, as the phrase goes—it finds a certain justification in the very real, though accidental, value of occasional bits of the material published. That this species is now the most abundant in all the universities, the merest layman must be aware; and since its special food supply is still on the increase, there is some likelihood that it will soon be the only extant variety.

(3) *Professor bolshevikicus*

The *Professor bolshevikicus*, or wild-eyed professor, is not nearly so numerous as many persons may naturally suppose. His peculiar characteristics attract attention disproportionate to his real importance. The *Professor antiquus* made practically no noise at all in the world, and even the *Professor germanicus* has only the pitiful squeaking in his journals, inaudible save to his own species. But the *Professor bolshevikicus* is distinctly blatant. It is not possible to account for this species as a simple resultant of environmental mutations. He is apparently a pure sport—though seldom a good sport. He may be produced from either the *Professor antiquus* or the *Professor germanicus*. His definitive characteristic, by which he may be recognized at a glance, is Temperament. He naturally abounds most in the College of Fine Arts, where the atmospheric conditions are probably the most congenial; but specimens may be found in all parts of the academic habitat—in physics and chemistry and mathematics and Romance languages and education and sociology as well as in architecture and music.

His Temperament, by which we identify him, may usually be detected instantly in his eye—a vagueness, or wildness, or restless shiftiness of glance. It is usually manifested also in his attire—lurid ties and a general rough, Bohemian slouchiness expressive of contempt for the bourgeois conventions. If he insists on going out in all weathers without a hat, it is hardly necessary to look farther. On the mental side his Temperament may express itself in many different ways, but most commonly in rather noisy declamation against some particular *bête noir*. This may be Religion, or (quite frequently nowadays) Capitalism, or Militarism, or the Family. And practically always he is loud against the university administration—presidents, deans, registrars, and all their works.

On the other hand, it must be admitted that he is often really strong, even brilliant, in his own subject. He is by way of being a genius. Sometimes, of course, he merely thinks he is a genius. Too frequently he is only an abortive near-genius. But sometimes he really is a genius, with the swift apprehensions and the lifting vision of a super-intellect. This, indeed, is the trouble with him. If it were not for this, the answer would be simple: exterminate him and be done. But the exasperated hands of deans and presidents are stayed—sometimes, at least—by the reflection that he has done, or may be about to do, something that will reflect world-wide and immortal glory on the institution. In short, it is impossible to imagine a more annoying creature.

(4) *Professor uptodate-icus*

The *Professor uptodate-icus*, or efficient professor, is unquestionably a mongrel or hybrid form, produced by an unnatural crossing of the GENUS PROFESSOR with the entirely distinct genus of BUSINESS MAN. He is the mule of the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

academic barnyard. But like the mule he is an animal of exceptional utility. As with the *Professor bolshevikicus*, he may readily be identified by exterior inspection. Look around you in the lounge of any faculty club, pick out the men who might be town members, and you have him. His trousers are creased, his shoes shined, his head well-barbered. Sometimes he even goes in for facial massage.

But an even simpler method for isolating this variety may be recommended. Open the university catalog to the list of faculty committees, and take off all the names that occur three times or oftener. For the *professores uptodateici* are the mainstay of committees. Like the mule on the farm, they do all the heavy draft work on the campus. It is they who pull the institution through the ruts of registration and over the bumps of budget-making.

In short, in spite of his dubious origin, it is impossible sufficiently to admire the extraordinary qualities of this creature. He possesses, or gives a passable imitation of possessing, the all-roundness of the *Professor antiquus*. At a pinch he will teach, or at least give lectures on, subjects quite remote from his own field. If he seldom maintains a garden, it is because gardening is insufficiently fashionable. He has more elegant hobbies instead: he is a motorist, a golfer, and a shark at bridge. He will astonish you with intelligent references to general literature. He is highly successful in "dealing with the student body"—entertains students, visits his fraternity, and is regularly an "adviser." Moreover, he competes with the *Professor germanicus*. His name appears in the journals—most often, it must be admitted, in an editorial capacity or appended to mere book reviews. Still it *appears* with creditable frequency, and that is the essential thing. And on top of all this, he gets through an amount of administrative work that, by itself alone, would cause the average stalwart but "tired" business man to crumple up like a tender violet from sheer exhaustion. He runs a big department—of course he is the head of a department; he engineers the relations of the institution with countless outside associations; he flatteringly entertains distinguished visitors; he is dispatched by the president to the State Capitol to lobby for appropriations, or to the metropolis to sound out wealthy donors. And through it all he remains a cheery optimist, hail-fellow-well-met, one-hundred-per-cent American.

Is it any wonder that the honors of deanship and presidency infallibly seek him out?

Phoenix

By LESLIE NELSON JENNINGS

There was, among the elder ones, a fool
Much mocked, a half-wit gnawed by some obscene
Distemper of the mind, who broke the rule
Of custom, as such rule had never been.
No shame was in him. All the ridicule
That he had earned so justly shook his mien
Of high composure little as a pool
Is ruffled by the stars. Something serene
Armored him. Once, and in a public place,
He burnt a tower of books. "The time," he said,
"Has come for us to unlearn what we have read."
There was no sign of anger on his face,
Only a child-like calm. But no one heard
The fire-freed wings, or saw the risen Bird!

In the Driftway

ECCENTRIC crows, they say, collect shiny bits of glass and pottery. Many a savage has bartered his birthright to a wily white man for beads and calico. The instinct lurks in us all; the collecting mania leads the modern urchin to adorn his coat with buttons and to amass cigarette pictures of baseball heroes. But king of all the follies to which the madness drives men is stamp collecting. There is no corner of Europe so hungry and starving today but men find time and money to assemble these bits of inky colored paper. When barter was reestablished in Moscow, among the first of the long suppressed merchants to discover his goods was the vender of stamps. Europe's new midget republics finance themselves in Central American style by selling new stamp issues to philatelists; no freebooter proclaims a new empire, be it in Fiume, Silesia, or Baranya, but among his first acts is issue and sale of stamps to the hungry dealers. And among the minor tragedies of this age which has such cosmic major tragedies was the dispersal of the stamp collection of Philippe de Ferrari de la Renotière.

* * * * *

PHILIPPE DE FERRARI was the son of that Marquis of Ferrari to whom Victor Emmanuel gave the title of Prince of Duccedio and the Pope that of Duke of Galliera. His father died a half century ago, leaving an enormous fortune made in French railroad finance. His widow founded a hospital at Clamart, gave 25 million francs to the city of Genoa for its harbor, and a palace besides, gave Austria for an embassy her Paris palace, and 7 or 8 million francs to the German empress—and still left her son a rich man. But Philippe scorned his class and despised the origin of his wealth; he developed principles which forbade him to live on unearned wealth and for a time taught in the Ecole libre des Sciences politiques. But one ruling passion gradually undermined all his other principles. He had a passion for stamps. His days he passed haunting the stamp market on the Avenue Marigny. His collection came to rival that of Alexander III and that of Dr. Legrand; this scorner of inherited wealth bought outright the stamp collection of one of the Rothschilds. In his latter years another worry possessed him: what would become of his collection when he died? For a long time he earnestly considered willing it to the Pope. Fate deprived him of choice. He had, in one of his caprices, let himself be adopted by an Austrian officer, de la Renotière, and when war broke out, he was technically an Austrian. Before the war was over, he had died in Geneva; and his collection, sequestrated as enemy property by the French, has been sold at auction and dispersed. At least he had the philatelic consolation that his 1851 two-cent Hawaiian blue brought the largest price till then ever paid for a stamp—183,300 francs.

* * * * *

STAMP collecting is a modern madness, ancient though the acquisitive instinct be. In 1863 the Paris lawyer, Henri Dabot, wrote: "A new insanity has caught the heads of Parisians; they are collecting—what do you think? Steel pens? No. Buttons? No. Inksmeared, used stamps!"

THE DRIFTER

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Correspondence

Credit and Freedom

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Your article entitled North Dakota Wins Her Fight marks a step forward in the fight for economic democracy, which is the objective in the age-long war for freedom. A recognition of the communal character of credit is slowly taking form. The brutal abuses of the governmental function of money by the agencies to which the Government has farmed out the administration of this most important responsibility of sovereignty have strangled production, throttled distribution, and periodically paralyzed industry during our entire history as a nation. The control of credit is the most important factor in our industrial and commercial activities.

The first indication of an approaching period of unemployment is a fluctuation in general price levels. To account for "unemployment," it is necessary to account for such fluctuations. Men do not lose confidence in commodities, per se; they do lose confidence in prices. Prices are determined in the natural order by the law of supply and demand, but under our unnatural order the law of supply and demand is nullified by a superior law: the law that fixes prices by the quantitative theory of money; that is, the greater the velocity of circulation the higher will be the price levels. This law applies also to substitutes for money, which consist of credit instruments.

In our system, credit, through these instruments, performs, more than seven times over, the functions discharged by money itself—and correspondingly influences prices. Whoever controls money—its velocity, credit—and the terms of its use, autocratically controls the price levels of all commodities or services offered in or for exchange.

The periodic draining of the people's savings, the sweeping up of "equities" into "strong hands," competent hands, hands qualified to make the "highest" and "best possible use" of the "nation's wealth," have in every instance been precipitated by pulling the string on the credit trap.

The panics—"hard times," "unemployment"—of 1857, 1873, 1883, 1894, 1907, 1920, to go no farther back than the experiences of living men, are complete demonstrations of the principle. Is it not time to render unto Caesar the things that are Caesar's? For the Government to resume the administration of its money functions—as well as the other powers and duties of sovereignty that are now the subject of private monopoly and the bone of contention between parties, factions, and classes? Unemployment conferences, monetary commissions, agricultural inquiries, boards, committees, *ad lib* and *ad nauseam*, cannot much longer succeed in finding ways to evade and avoid.

Washington, D. C., October 21 WESTERN STARR

The Aftermath

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Believing that some of your readers may be interested in knowing what the reactions are of an American citizen traveling in Germany at the present time, I herewith send you some extracts from letters of a relative who is now in that country.

"Munich and Berlin are full of strangers and visitors and to some extent this condition prevails in all the large cities, I am told. All around are the evidences of a country once prosperous, well maintained, and contented, struggling to get on its feet. There is a sort of industry but it is that hard, struggling, overworked, anxious type of effort that shows no pleasure upon the countenances of the people as you observe them at their respective tasks. Transportation is working under the greatest difficulty. Buildings show want of upkeep and all things are in want of repair and paint. Railroad yards, equipment, and motive power show the breakdown of organizations, and I think I see a much inferior type of men on all turns of occupation and on the streets. There is no doubt that the finest of Germany's men and youths were the victims of the Great War.

"Talk to me about the pleasures of European travel these days and I will tell you that it is not to be found in Germany. The whole or most of the traveling is consolidated into the second and third classes due to the fact that those Germans who may have formerly used first class are now unable to travel except in that way. At most a mark means but one cent and it is pathetic to think of the people who heretofore have been comfortable, with incomes from investments, having to work and live on about one-twentieth of these former valuations."

Zurich, Switzerland, September 26 C. H. WHITMAN

Our Economic System

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Does it not appeal to you that there must be something wrong with a system which functions only when profits can be made? With a system where people are willing to work and are not permitted to do so? Less than thirty miles from here is the mine of the Utah Copper Company. With the exception of less than one hundred men employed it is closed down tight. But even though the mine is closed the stockholders, the majority of whom have never seen it unless it be in picture, and who did little or nothing to produce the copper, continue to draw dividends. In commenting on "Utah Copper in good shape," the daily press recently stated among other things that it is still able to continue dividends on account of its "tremendous war earnings." So you can see that they were very patriotic (paytriotic) during the time the flower of American manhood was wallowing in the mire and filth of the battlefields of Europe and making the supreme sacrifice, and yet they and all others who made "tremendous war earnings" are pleading poverty and asking that they be relieved of the excess-profits tax, unwilling if you please to disgorge some of their ill-gotten gains, gotten out of the welter, blood, and misery of the American youth in France in the so-called "war for democracy."

Then, too, the men who created the "tremendous war earnings" have been discharged, turned adrift to seek other employment or starve. They are not permitted to share in the "tremendous war earnings," and their services are no longer needed as there are no profits to be made by giving them employment. And thus it goes.

Salt Lake City, Utah, October 15 E. G. LOCKE

Comment by a Former Churchman

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Having in the past occupied Methodist pulpits, it gives me pleasure to thank you for your editorial paragraph in the issue of October 5, in which you comment on the action of the Colorado Methodist Conference in voting down a resolution asking amnesty for war-time political prisoners. The sooner we realize that the church has outlived its usefulness the better. And to do this, what more is necessary than to recall how, during the war, it turned from the teachings of the Prince of Peace to the promulgation of hatred and war hysteria? The sentiment of the Methodist church then was well expressed by one of its prominent clergymen who said: "If by loving our enemies the Bible means that in order to go to heaven we must love the Germans, then I hasten on my way to hell." It is no encouragement that their hatred has been transferred from the Germans to the few Americans who, like 'Gene Debs, stood by their own convictions; who merely endeavored to live the teachings of Christ; or who perchance accepted the doctrine of that quondam leader who so eloquently informed us that we could not stop the slaughter by adding to the number of cannon.

San Francisco, October 18 LOUIS R. HOLMES

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Books

The Training of Lawyers

Training for the Public Profession of the Law. By Alfred Zantziger Reed. Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. Charles Scribner's Sons. $2.

THE American people have long cherished the somewhat naive illusion that their elected representatives in legislature assembled make the laws under which they live. To the legal profession and to a few students of politics the unsoundness of this view has for some time been apparent. The great body of law under which we live is judge-made law or common law and with its creation and development legislative bodies have had nothing to do. To be sure our legislatures each year grind out vast masses of statute law which purports to add to or modify the common law. But what most laymen forget is that all statute law must be enforced by the courts and that it only becomes law in any real sense of the word to the extent which the courts do enforce it. Moreover, in this process of enforcement statute law must be construed, and it is not unheard of for construction to transform a particular statute out of all recognition. In a very real sense, the judiciary (and the lawyers as well, for they exert an influence in the courts) possess a final check upon what shall or shall not be the laws which govern us.

It is a satisfaction to find at the outset of Alfred Z. Reed's study of "Training for the Public Profession of the Law" just issued as Bulletin 15 by the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching a full recognition of this basic fact, which gives to the legal profession its public character and which makes legal education a matter of public concern. If we wish our system of jurisprudence to develop with wisdom and foresight we must do more than put bills through legislatures; we must also train our lawyers and judges in social vision and far-seeing statesmanship.

That the job has been and is being done very imperfectly is the conclusion to which Mr. Reed's eight years of work has led him. Not many outside the legal profession will regard this as an original discovery. There have been enough members of the profession who are incompetent and enough who have regarded it not so much as an instrument of justice as a means of outwitting an opponent, to make many people look upon lawyers with a vague distrust. Enough matters of grave public policy have been decided by the courts in ignorance of the facts of modern society to cause apprehension about the quality of judicial statesmanship. Unhappily, there will be wide agreement with Mr. Reed's view of the inadequacy of modern legal education.

As to the causes of this lamentable failure, the study for the first time furnishes us with a careful analysis based upon an exceptionally thorough historical survey. Our problem in this country has been to provide a legal education with a sufficiently broad cultural basis to insure both an appreciation of the public service incumbent on the profession and the capacity to perform it, while at the same time not making the course of instruction so long and engrossing as to hinder all but the rich from entering upon it.

As this problem has been worked out, Mr. Reed tells us, we have developed two distinct types of legal instruction. One demands the student's whole time, follows the so-called case system of instruction, and requires the equivalent of a college degree as an entrance requisite. The other, based upon a high-school general education, relies upon textbooks rather than the study of cases and fills only part of the student's time while leaving him free to earn his living in out-of-school hours. That these two types of school should tend to develop two different types of lawyer is obvious and that this division among lawyers has prevented the Bar from becoming a homogeneous whole able to direct itself and others toward conscious improvement, we are assured. In a word, we have developed a Bar part of which has not had the educational facilities necessary to make the good public servants which lawyers ought to be and part of which, although educationally more fortunate, is drawn from a class somewhat removed from the problems of the great mass of folks. Moreover, this latter class is likely to be unfamiliar with the currents of the ever more important industrial struggle and imbued with the unrepresentative traditions which go with wealth and social position. That on the one hand the members of such a Bar will regard their profession as a mere money-making business, and on the other hand exercise the public functions which are theirs to protect the existing economic status quo, seems fairly clear.

How such an unfortunate situation is to be improved is a difficult problem, and the solution put forward by Mr. Reed is not very convincing. Building upon existing Bar Associations he would create a sort of inner Bar to whose membership should be admitted only those younger lawyers whose training has included a college degree and those older practitioners whose record has become a distinguished one. From such a group, I imagine he believes, judges would be chosen, and from them also would come the leadership which is so sorely needed both in public affairs and in the improvement of legal education itself. Maybe so. But one cannot help doubting. The notion looks too much like working from the top down. It would arouse bitter resentment. Lawyers are already regarded by many as being somewhat like a privileged caste. To create a caste within a caste would never do. We shall never reform the profession by making the privileged few the custodians of its conscience and the guardians of its scholarship. Rather the general level of the public functions and ability of its members must be raised. And there is but one way to do that. Some way must be found by which all who aspire to become lawyers can secure a really liberal education before their technical studies begin and the opportunity for the requisite professional schooling as well. The problem is not one of mere mechanical adjustment but rather a part of the whole nation's problem of providing higher educational opportunity for all who are ambitious for it. When we have public university education on a wide scale and public professional training following it, then perhaps will we commence to raise the level of the Bar. That we shall do so before that time is doubtful.

ALBERT DE SILVER

"Americanization"

The Soul of an Immigrant. By Constantine Panunzio. The Macmillan Company. $2.

THIS book like a number of others in the same "America-please-like-me" class is full of hard throbbing facts followed by indifferent and trivial conclusions. Mr. Panunzio's evolution from a sailor lad, peon-lumberjack, and farm hand into student, preacher, and social worker; his experience with New England Americanism as typified by farmers, bootleggers, policemen, priests, judges, teachers, and "better class" Americans; his several attempts at getting justice and fair play for the "foreigner" and the consequent disappointments—all this is narrated with enough sincerity and detail to evoke one's deepest sympathy. Some of the incidents, like the one in which the "Dago" boy wins for his college the first prize in an intercollegiate debate, are positively thrilling.

And yet, after seeing for himself how hard it would be for anybody else to duplicate his Calvary of Americanization, the author says: "I really began to believe what I had seriously questioned before—that if a 'foreigner' really tries to make good, recognition will come." How much more poignant and convincing is the statement of a pupil of the author's class in citizenship. "Look at us," he said. "We work long hours for

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

only a pittance, and see the treatment they give us in the shop. The boss kicks us and calls us "the d—— Dagoes" and *all that* in the shop of the man who gives us the money to run this class."

The average American and the average Americanized foreigner who managed to get to the higher rungs of the social ladder conceive Americanization at its best as a problem in education and at its worse as a problem in legislation. Mr. Panunzio's pupil properly thinks that it is neither. It is primarily an industrial and social problem and to that extent it is only a part of the general labor problem. The one hundred per cent American lumberjack in the West is no better treated than the Italian lumberjack in New England; the Negro, Mexican, Japanese, and "wobbly" farm hand in the South, West, and Southwest are not more gently handled than the author was on the farm of George Ennis, and neither does a real American miner or iron-worker meet with better treatment on the part of policemen. The problem of Americanization does not lie wholly in improving the foreigner, but in improving America as well, and while all the facts in Mr. Panunzio's book tend to this conclusion, his sentiment is nothing but personal gratification over his personal achievements.

One incident told by the author is particularly enlightening. One of his cultured countrymen was appointed Italian vice-consul in Portland, Maine. "In keeping with his position, Signore V—— naturally desired to live in a good section of the city." But the "good section" cared little to have an "Eye-talian" as its neighbor and the poor Signore was obliged to live in the midst of the Italian colony. Mr. Panunzio is sadly chagrined by this prejudice and feels very much humiliated over it. But it seems to me that an Italian vice-consul should not have looked for quarters outside of the Italian section, and it is this looking down upon the "greenhorn" by immigrants who managed to climb up themselves that is as disgusting as the bone-headedness of the "better class" Americans. The "foreigner" has nothing to apologize for. Most of America's progress is now carried on the shoulders of "Dagoes," "Sheenies," "Niggers," "Japs," "Greasers," and until America learns to recognize the foreigner as a worker and a builder the foreigner will resent all legislative and educational attempts at Americanization, irrespective of the motive behind them.

Mr. Panunzio's book will be praised by all who believe in "setting up examples." Those, however, who have gone through similar experiences themselves will be sorry to see Mr. Panunzio so easily deceived by the condescending indorsement of the "better class" Americans. It is to be regretted that the author who has suffered so deeply for his Americanism should be ready to hand out to his less fortunate countrymen an America full of glamor and personal opportunities and so devoid of real understanding.

B. Charney Vladeck

Economic Liberty

Economic Liberty. By Harold Cox. Longmans, Green and Company. $2.75.

THIS volume of essays by the editor of the *Edinburgh Review* calls to mind the much quoted saying of Madame Roland concerning the number of crimes committed in the name of liberty. The main purpose of the book is to show that interference by the state with the economic liberty of the individual is injurious to the nation. In other words, the author advocates an extreme laissez-faire doctrine concerning all economic relations; the date on the book might well be 1820 instead of 1920.

Concerning socialism as an economic program, especially in its Marxian form, much of the argument educed by Mr. Cox is based on solid economic grounds. How socialism would really work out nobody knows unless Russia is an example. No two socialists agree in theory or application. Socialism understood as the common ownership of all means of production is in reality more like a religious faith than an economic program. But Mr. Cox goes to the extreme and denounces any form of restraint by the state excepting the repression of "the cruder forms of wrong-doing such as murder, or highway robbery, or the sale of adulterated goods, or the acceptance of secret commissions" as socialistic. No room is left for the extension of government regulation or ownership after definite experience or need. Even Adam Smith admitted that class interests may run counter to those of society and that in certain fields the government might well take a hand.

Mr. Cox says a good deal concerning the evils of democracy in conferring economic favors upon groups of individuals at the expense of the general body of the nation. Thus an inheritance tax is an evil. Because the institution of private property has led to progress it is sacrosanct and should not be regulated at all. The fact that private property as it exists today is a comparatively recent development and is based on social expediency is not mentioned. The emphasis is laid upon the contentions that no question should be raised as to how a man got his money and that government should not levy a special tax. The British inheritance and income taxes, however, decide the matter differently. Mr. Cox evidently holds to an ideal of distributive justice which might as well be frankly termed the aristocratic ideal: that there should be special privileges for persons of special classes or positions; that an employing class and a working class are both based on the eternal reality and fitness of things. Back of the aristocratic ideal of distribution is the idea of the survival of the fittest, but here one must pause and ask as to the condition of fitness. The captain of industry, for instance, may merely represent a monopoly which controls one of the necessities of life. Government according to Mr. Cox should do nothing.

He cites persuasive power of the human conscience as sufficient to remedy economic evils. But slavery as a vested institution was defended as of divine origin and had to be abolished not by the individual but by the state. Likewise the regulation of child labor is another illustration. Conscience and profits ordinarily work in harmony in this world.

George Milton Janes

Havelock the Diarist

Impressions and Comments. Second Series 1914-1920. By Havelock Ellis. Houghton Mifflin Company. $2.75.

HAVELOCK THE DANE was famous in legend for the bright light that shone from him while he slept; his namesake, Havelock Ellis, seems to be distinguished, in his latter years, by the murky darkness of melancholy and pessimism that envelops him. For, like Ecclesiastes, his favorite biblical author, he has seen much of life and finds it all vanity of vanities, utter emptiness and disillusionment in the end. True, he is determined to get even now the most out of life that he can, but he is like a long-distance runner whose final sprint only emphasizes his real exhaustion. Private sorrows and public calamities of the last seven years have borne heavily on the veteran author, weary and querulous with the weight of years. And yet it is more a matter of temperament than of advancing maturity. Bernard Shaw proclaims that he feels his own decline, but his mind fizzes up like ginger pop when you uncork it; Ellis offers us a much milder draft that neither effervesces, nor inebriates, nor cheers, but gently tickles the palate with a pleasurable sourness as of weak lemonade, iced on a summer's day. Compare, again, his reaction toward the war with that of Henry James. The latter got the biggest sensation of his whole life out of the dreadful "scene"; the former is rather worried and vexed by it than deeply moved. In this attitude to contemporary war as in other things Ellis reminds one of Montaigne: he is weary, skeptical, disillusioned, voluptuous, and pensive.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The extracts from the journal here published are the casual comments of an intelligent, inquisitive, essentially lay and amateur mind on a great variety of subjects. He strolls through England, France, Italy, and Greece, and through many a field of human endeavor, and "he talks to himself as he walks by himself and thus to himself says he." He opens with a disquisition on prehistoric dentistry as revealed by the discovery of ancient skeletons with gold-filled teeth in Ecuador. He discourses on art, on the tendency of civilization to use up the nerves, on the birth-rate, on Boris Godunov, on the Salvation Army, on Yeng Chu's "Garden of Pleasure," on rain, on the world as a spectacle, on punishment, war, nature, death, indolence as a virtue, and on Dorothy Richardson. He has much to say on music, most of it unconventionally startling. He regards "Parsifal" as a sermon and Beethoven's Fifth Symphony as the expression of self-assertion. He notes the sexual motive in Grieg and in Tchaikovsky.

Indeed, his constant preoccupation with sex is what one would expect from a man who had studied it so long and so deeply. His metaphors are drawn from such articles as toilet paper; and his test of realism in a novel is whether it describes all the bodily functions, without exception, of its heroine. He devotes two pages to describing the significance of a woman's pulling up her stocking in public, and he records his disappointment in finding in a scandalous work of Aretino nothing more amusing than in the naughty words written by bad boys on walls. He waxes enthusiastic on the beauty of the mosquito as a perfect symbol of "Nature gathered up at one point in her loveliness, and her skill, and her deadliness, and her sex"; and he "is startled by the beauty" of that other symbolic animal, the goat, "that beauty with a certain strangeness without which, as Bacon said, there is no beauty, a beauty at once so virile and so shy, so emphatic and so remote that it seemed to come to me out of the infinite past of the world."

Our author has also much to say on morality and on religion. He finds morality in the standards of the average man who persecutes both those who are in advance and those who are behind him, both the vanguard and the "blackguard" of the race, both the prophet and the criminal. Religion is to him like sex and music and art, one of the sensations too good to be missed. He has no faith in dogma but he has an exquisite appreciation of the church's aesthetic side. He discusses the personality and life of Jesus, maintaining his own belief that Jesus really lived, a belief that he wrongly thinks is now rejected by "an enlarging group of scholars." He also praises highly one of the worst works ever written to explain the Gospels, Binet-Sanglé's "Folie de Jésus." He believes in the value of prayer as mental exercise, though he thinks the ideal prayer is the self-contradictory one: "O Lord! hear my prayer, but, O Lord, for God's sake don't grant it!" In this as in almost everything he says, Mr. Ellis shows himself less as a philosopher than as a delightful companion and causeur.

PRESERVED SMITH

Industrial Government

Industrial Government. By John R. Commons [and eight associates]. The Macmillan Company. $3.

IN the summer of 1919, Professor John R. Commons and a number of associates visited some thirty industrial establishments from Wisconsin to Maine, and in the present volume they report on eighteen experiments in cooperation between capital and labor. Here, for example, are lively and yet temperate accounts of the excursions into "industrial democracy" made by the White Motor Company, Henry Ford, the Link Belt Company, the Plimpton Press, and other exponents of "enlightened capitalism." All purveyors of Morrison's Pills should be compelled to read them before appearing in public again. Here we can see human nature at work in many and varied cooperative industrial experiments. Those who have been looking at the forests and forgetting the trees can correct their perspective by discovering from these pages how complex, how disturbing, how contrary, how numerous, how changing, how bewildering are the factors encountered in any attempt to work out concrete relations between capital and labor.

After presenting the data gathered on their visits to industrial plants, Mr. Commons and his associates devote nearly an equal amount of space to summarizing their conclusions. The leader of the group opens with the proposition that from 10 to 25 per cent of American employers provide such excellent conditions of employment that trade unions cannot reach them, and that the remainder are so backward that only the big stick of unionism can bring them up to the level of the others. The investigators do not find that labor "wants participation in the responsibilities of ownership or management." Two of Mr. Commons's colleagues deal with the principles and practice of management from the standpoint of capital and labor. Two others treat of the methods of instituting joint control and employee representation.

The result of their labors is a manual or guide to various forms and practices of "industrial democracy," based not upon the evangelical concept that has animated many reformers, but upon first-hand studies of actual operations. In the end, Mr. Commons and his associates picture to us as the dream of capital and labor a world of peace and plenty in which the lion and the lamb are safely and happily housed together and engaged in producing so much wealth that everyone can have security, steady employment, decent wages, and perhaps a bath-tub and a silk hat. *Ad astra per aspera.*

Mr. Commons's grand conclusion from this study is that "Capitalism can cure itself, for it is not the blind force that socialists supposed; and not the helpless plaything of demand and supply, but it is management. And the greatest self-cure that it needs today is security of the job, for it is the insecurity of jobs that is the breeder of socialism, of anarchism, of the restrictions of trade-unionism, and a menace to capitalism, the nation, and even civilization. Our chapters have shown the beginnings of this self-cure of capitalism."

Yes, the beginnings, but not the end. These chapters do not show us how capitalists can employ labor when they cannot sell their goods, how they can or will stop the pitiless drive for world markets in which to sell their goods, how they can or will prevent devastating imperialist wars such as the recent unpleasantness, or how they can or will stop the endless quest of human nature for something that it does not have, even after warm beds and full dinner pails have been provided. Capitalists though good and wise and noble and all that are not supermen. We may suspect that they will fail to do what the patricians of Rome failed to do, namely, establish a stable and altogether pleasing civilization. Has not the Good Book told us that man is born to trouble as the sparks fly upward? Why dash in the face of the plain teaching of the Scriptures?

CHARLES A. BEARD

The Beginning

Liza of Lambeth. By W. Somerset Maugham. George H. Doran Company. $1.75.

THIS is the little book with which Somerset Maugham began his career. It is very long since any one thought it worthy of notice. Its author's glittering plays only added to its obscurity. But the success of "The Moon and Sixpence" and the consequent gradual recognition of the supremacy of Maugham's "Of Human Bondage" among modern novels in the English tongue caused an at least faint curiosity in regard to his earlier narratives to arise. Thus his present publishers reissued "The Explorer," which is but an example of his ability to be skilfully untrue to himself. Now they reissue "Liza of Lambeth," a book and a document of first-rate importance.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The story is, in the current literary slang, definitely dated. But it was a great date. We think of the closing years of the nineteenth century too often in terms of their weariness and decay. But it was the great age of the beginnings of naturalism when compassion and pain and the influence of the exact sciences led to observation, and the observation of human life led to a new kind of truth and a new kind of beauty in literature—or, at least, to the conscious cultivation of a kind of beauty and truth that had hitherto come into being only sporadically and by chance. The example of Flaubert and the Goncourts was in the vivid and immediate past; there was Gissing; there was Arthur Morrison who wrote "Tales of Mean Streets" and "A Child of the Jago"; there was George Moore. Toward the end of the eighties, moreover, Somerset Maugham went to Germany, mastered the language, witnessed the battles that surrounded the emergence of "consistent naturalism" and the storms that blew when Hauptmann's "Before Dawn" revolutionized the drama and Sudermann's "Honor" teased the Philistines into an agreeable protest. He had thus, probably beyond any other English writer, a chance to steep himself in the entire naturalistic movement. At that period of his development he wrote "Liza of Lambeth."

One has only to consider the list of Maugham's publications and to remember Gissing's "The New Grub Street" to piece together the chain of events. There was no market for naturalistic novels in England; a naturalistic play could never have seen the London boards. So Mr. Maugham took for years to the elegant cultivation of a breezy popularity until he gathered into "Of Human Bondage" all the repressed disdain and intellectual energy and creative passion of the intervening period. Today he can afford to return to his true business. The reissuing of "Liza of Lambeth" marks a memorable moment in the history of both his career and his reputation.

The warm young men in the literary cenacles of Europe abhor the naturalism in which they were cradled. From impressionism they are proceeding to expressionism. The impassioned soul must reshape an evil world. Ah, if only that were possible! But to reshape life you must become its master and to do that you must understand it. Do we understand it yet? No, naturalism has the best chance of being permanent and permanently helpful. Why do we rejoice in the maid-servant standing by the window in the Odyssey, in Horace's story of how his father took him to school, in the broad babble of the Wife of Bath? Because we find there the immortal fascination of the authentic human gesture; because life and truth nourish us and sustain us. There is the community of human fate, the compassion direct and vicarious, the understanding that brings power and peace.

When Somerset Maugham wrote "Liza of Lambeth" he was not yet a very good writer. There is a lack of resonance in the style; there are curious little experimentations in structure that are not happy. But there is the piercing vision that is at once critical and creative and sets down the truth that wounds the ideal cherished in the mind. Liza is a child of the London slums. Her dress is grotesque and her speech unprintable. But she has tenderness and a thirst for beauty, and with all her strict conscientiousness within a narrow field she combines something that is Pagan and wild and free. And from that combination which is also a conflict arises her necessary and piteous end. She really agrees with the wiseacre of Vere Street: "There can't be no good in 'er if she tikes somebody else's 'usbind." Jim Blakestone, the partner of her sin, shares that conviction. So the love of these two is a haunted and a foredoomed thing. In Vere Street drunkenness and wife-beating were free, but love was a strictly regulated affair. Liza's mother is the figure that embodies Maugham's scorn and bitterness. She is corrupt, cruel, idle, drunken. But she is respectable. She has her "marriage-lines." Virtue means but one thing. Mrs. Kemp rises to monstrous heights when she discusses insurance and respectability and liquor with the midwife beside her dying daughter's bed. Well, why shouldn't she, since the girl has turned out to be a "bad un"? There is not in these or any other pages the slightest intrusion on the author's part. He lets the street and the section and the people tell their own story, illustrate their own morals, show up directly the notions by which they live. He lets them be themselves. We do not know what critical reception "Liza of Lambeth" met at the time of its publication. But Mr. Maugham's subsequent career seems to show that there were not many people in England then who recognized in this little narrative by an unknown young man all the essential qualities of a great novelist—the power to absorb life, to reshape it in its exact character, to communicate at the same time the full savor of reality and the vigilant detachment of the creative mind. L. L.

Notable New Books

Shakespeare's Sonnets. Edited by A. H. Bullen. Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head. 10s. 6d.

The last work of a memorable scholar, concerning whose work this volume contains a Foreword by H. F. B. Brett-Smith.

Art and Artists of Indiana. By Mary Q. Burnet. Century. $6.

A perfectly naive work which yet contains a large amount of useful information concerning the history of the arts in a representative State from its pioneer beginnings, with a Who's Who of Indiana painters, sculptors, and illustrators.

The Land of Haunted Castles. By Robert J. Casey. Century. $6.

A handsome quarto descriptive of Luxemburg, written rather too much in the idiom of surprise-that-Europe-can-be-so-quaint.

David Copperfield: A Reading. By Charles Dickens. Edited by J. H. Stonehouse. London: Sotheran. 15s.

Reprinted from the privately printed edition of 1866 with a note on the love affair of Dickens and Maria Beadnell—the Dora of "David Copperfield" and the Flora of "Little Dorrit."

El Inca Garcilasso de la Vega. By James Fitzmaurice-Kelly. Oxford.

A slight but searching study, in the Hispanic Notes and Monographs series, of "the first South American who has won for himself a permanent place in the history of Spanish Literature."

Early Travels in India, 1583-1619. Edited by William Foster. Oxford. $5.65.

The narratives of seven travelers into regions which then seemed enormously foreign. All are reprints from early books and all are admirably edited.

Great Sea Stories. Edited by Joseph French Lewis. Brentano's. $2.

Fifteen well-chosen stories by Anglo-Saxon and French writers from Marryat to Masefield.

Contemporary British Literature. By John Matthews Manly and Edith Rickert. Harcourt, Brace. $1.

Bibliographies and study outlines compiled with schoolmasterly care and enriched with a good many schoolmasterly *clichés*, such as this about Bernard Shaw: "As you read each play, note the range of Shaw's destructive criticism of ideas and institutions; also his constructive suggestions."

A Hundred Voices. By Kostes Palamas. Translated by Aristides E. Phoutrides. Harvard.

The second very capable volume of translations by Mr. Phoutrides from the beautiful "Life Immovable" of contemporary Greece's brilliant and restless poet.

Courage in Politics and Other Essays, 1885-1896. By Coventry Patmore. Oxford.

Tart, dogmatic essays in conservative journalism, chiefly about politics and literature. The third collected volume to date of Patmore's highly creditable prose.

Show Down. By Julia Houston Railey. Putnam.

An intelligent book—in form a novel—recounting the adventures of a young woman who undertakes to do disinterested social welfare work in a stagnant Arkansas town. Without striking skill as a novelist, the author has brains and spirit.

Silver Fields. By Rowland E. Robinson. Houghton Mifflin.

Agreeable and accurate "sketches of a farmer-sportsman" in New England.

The Works of Aristotle. Edited by W. D. Ross. Vol. X. Oxford.

A new volume of this admirable translation, containing Jowett's version of the "Politica" and Sir Frederic Kenyon's of the "Atheniensium Respublica," both revised, with a new version of the "Oeconomica" by E. S. Forster.

Irish Poets of Today. An Anthology. Compiled by L. D'O. Walters. Dutton.

An all too meager selection from thirty-four poets of Ireland.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drama

Pity and Terror—II

WE are not moved by the remediable; we are not moved by the accidental; we are not moved by unrelieved moral ugliness. It may be urged that nothing is remediable. Absolutely speaking, that is true. At the end of every discussion of the character of a tragic action we meet the problem of choice. Though nothing is easier than to dispose of the will as a separable entity, we must still reckon with the unalterable subjective conviction which the spectator projects into the people on the stage that within some limits, however narrow, a freedom of choice exists. The perfect tragic action convinces us of the gradual obliteration of that margin of choice. In such a play as Henri Bernstein's "La Griffe" ("The Claw"; Broadhurst Theater), as in many plays of that particular French school, we are constantly irked by the conviction that the tragic protagonist could have arrested his ruin; that, on the playwright's own showing, there were forces present and alive within the man which we would, in his place, have summoned. That process of identification is inevitable. On it is based the convincingness or the reverse of every imaginative representation of life. If, when we have granted a character every inner difficulty, every natural weakness, every malevolence of fate, we still feel that given his situation we could have rescued ourselves, the level of the action in which he is involved falls below that of tragedy. So soon as we instinctively interpose between the hero and his downfall a certain remedy pity and terror flee and fatality turns into mere disaster.

What is true of the remediable is true in a far higher degree of the accidental. In the world, which is a world of causality, there is obviously nothing that corresponds to what people loosely call accident. In the world of the representative and interpretative imagination all reasonableness and all convincingness is derived from the artist's perfect control over the various strands of moral and physical causality that weave the tragic web. To resort to accident, that is, to the frankly obscure and unexplained, is to sacrifice the intellectual seriousness of your action at once. That is why Clemence Dane's "A Bill of Divorcement" (George M. Cohan's Theater) does not, despite its earnestness and power, impress me as being of a tragic character. It may be that after fifteen years of hopeless insanity a man can suddenly regain his reason. But the proof of an action or event must be, as David Hume pointed out long ago, strong in direct proportion to its improbability. Miss Dane has not troubled to supply that proof. That, finally, the suddenly recovered man should wander into his old home on the very Christmas day on which his wife has at last determined to end her long solitariness, is to precipitate a tragic crisis not from within its natural elements but from an alien and extraneous source. Some allowance must indeed be made for the conventionalization of time and space which the drama demands. But it is the unwise playwright who accentuates this unavoidable artifice by the use of festivals and anniversaries and coincidences so perfect as to challenge belief at once.

The question of moral ugliness is a more subtle and debatable one. It has little to do with any rude classification of human actions; it has little to do with the external at all. Neither Macbeth who murders his king repels us nor Rose Bernd who murders her child. In each instance the dramatist has shown us the divine humanity that transcends error and crime. When an unrelieved moral ugliness is shown, it seems necessary to the effects of tragedy that the author communicate his sense of its quality to us. That is what Bernstein so signally fails to do. We see his protagonist writhe in the degradation of his exorbitant passions and never glimpse a world beyond the fevered delusions in which the man is caught. Thus the action is stained with a spiritual sordidness which does not reside, as superficial critics think, in poverty or dirt or meanness of occupation and station or in anything material and tangible, but solely in the absence of those creative overtones by which the artist persuades us of the integrity and transcendence of his own vision of things.

I have thought it more useful to offer briefly these fundamental considerations than to criticize either "A Bill of Divorcement" or "The Claw" in minuter detail, or to explain by a concrete appeal the genuinely tragic character of "The Children's Tragedy" (already, alas, withdrawn), and of Mr. Arthur Richman's "Ambush" (Garrick Theater). What Dryden called "the grounds of criticism in tragedy" are apt to meet with no inquiry among us. The fear of setting up rules and being didactic is, indeed, the beginning of wisdom. But to harbor that fear is not to abandon the reasonable question: How does tragedy achieve its effects? And the answer is: By showing us human ills which we accept, upon a full understanding of all their causes, as inherently irremediable through such a form and tone as demonstrate the author's transcendence of that world of illusion which he delineates. When all these elements are present our pity is complete, our terror is rooted in reason, but we are elated and not depressed because the dramatist has taken us with him upon that peak of vision from which he surveys the miseries and the errors of mankind.

For the critical purpose of the day it should be added that Bernstein's "The Claw" was selected and produced by Mr. Arthur Hopkins in order that Mr. Lionel Barrymore might play the part of Achille Cortelon. It is a part that offers enormous opportunities to the virtuosity of Mr. Barrymore, and he avails himself of these superbly. The fragments of the action shown are separated by intervals of two, ten, and four years. Nothing in its kind could be more impressive than Mr. Barrymore's impersonation of Cortelon's aging, enfeeblement, and moral collapse. His strong and subtle art will sustain a play which has no beauty or inner truth or permanence of its own.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

LECTURES *and* AMUSEMENTS

THEATRE GUILD PRODUCTIONS

"LILIOM"
By Franz Molnar
English text by Benj. F. Glazer
FULTON THEATRE
West 46th Street

"AMBUSH"
By Arthur Richman
A strong American play of life as we find it.
GARRICK THEATRE
West 35th Street

BRAMHALL PLAY HOUSE
27th Street at Lexington Avenue

"Difference in Gods"
The Psychology of a Family
By Butler Davenport
Tel. Mad. Sq. 2051

"I am thoroughly interested in your work and standards. We are engaged in the same way."
Jacques Copeau, Directre-General, Theatre du Colombier

PHILHARMONIC
CONCERTS—80th Season.
JOSEF STRANSKY Conducting
CARNEGIE HALL, Thursday Evening, Nov. 10 at 8:30.
FRIDAY AFTERNOON, Nov. 11, AT 2:30.
WEBER, SIBELIUS—Fifth Symphony, (first time New York)
WAGNER, STRAUSS
Saturday Evening, Nov. 12, at 8:30.
BRONISLAW HUBERMAN, *Soloist.*
FELIX F. LEIFELS, Manager. Steinway Piano.

DEBATE "Permanent Progress for the Human Race Is Impossible"
SCOTT NEARING Negative
CLARENCE DARROW Affirmative
Frank P. Walsh, Chairman
MANHATTAN OPERA HOUSE, Sunday, November 27th, 2:30 P. M
Tickets $2, $1.50, $1, 75c, 50c
Under the auspices of the Rand School

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

International Relations Section

The Rape of Haiti

THE the following documents were taken from United States Navy's secret dispatch book on Haiti. In large measure they tell their own story—the story of the forcible subjugation to American interests backed up by the American Government of an independent but small and helpless nation. The story is, however, necessarily incomplete, since the hearings on Haiti before the Senate Committee have at the time of going to press made available only a small part of the documents. As further material is brought out in the continued examination of Admiral Caperton and in an examination of ex-Secretaries Bryan and Daniels and other responsible officials it will be published in these columns. The italics appearing in the following documents are our own.

"To Protect Foreign Interests"

On October 28, 1914, nine months before the landing of American forces at Port au Prince, the Secretary of State, Mr. Bryan, wrote a letter to President Wilson which read in part as follows:

In view of our conversation this noon relative to Haiti, it seemed to me of first importance that the naval force in Haitian waters should be at once increased, not only for the purpose of protecting foreign interests, but also as evidence of the earnest intention of this Government to settle the unsatisfactory state of affairs which exists. We have one vessel now at Cape Haitien and two are needed on the south coast, one at Port au Prince and the other at Gonaives. . . . In view of the urgent need of increasing our force on the south coast at this time when a renewal of negotiations seems probable, will you please advise me whether or not I can say to Admiral Fiske that you approve of sending a battleship from Vera Cruz to Port au Prince?

On the same date Mr. Bryan wrote to the Secretary of the Navy, Mr. Daniels, in the following terms:

I have the honor to inform you that the situation in the Republic of Haiti is such as to render necessary the presence of additional United States naval ships in Haitian waters. It is therefore requested, in order to carry out the policies of the Government, that two ships be sent to Haiti of sufficient size so that their landing complements will be able to take charge of and preserve order in the cities of Gonaives and Port-au-Prince should occasion therefor arise. It is hoped that these two ships may arrive in Haiti as soon as practicable."

Action followed immediately. On October 29 the Secretary of the Navy advised the Secretary of State that the Hancock had been ordered from Monte Cristi and the Kansas from Vera Cruz to Port au Prince, the latter with enough marines on board to preserve order in Port au Prince and Gonaives. Next day the Department of State wrote to the Secretary of the Navy:

I have the honor to request that the attached telegraphic instructions to the American Minister at Port au Prince, Haiti, be sent through the radio communication of the U. S. S. Hancock, as this Department understands that cable communication with Port au Prince is very uncertain.

It is requested that instructions be sent to the senior officer of the United States naval forces in Haitian waters to confer with the American Minister in Port-au-Prince and to accede to any requests he may make for the movement of ships and the landing of men.

The same day the Secretary of the Navy advised the Secretary of State that he had acceded to his request and sent instructions to the commander of the Hancock to confer with the American Minister at Port au Prince and cooperate with him.

The Sending of the U. S. S. Washington

Following directly upon the carrying off of $500,000 of Haitian national funds from Port au Prince by United States marines from the U. S. S. Machias on December 17, 1914, and the demand by the United States Minister to Haiti in the same month for acceptance of a treaty giving the United States complete control over the customs and public debt of Haiti, the Secretary of State on January 16, 1915, notified the Secretary of the Navy that the Consular Corps had requested that a United States war vessel be sent there to protect foreign interests. The State Department therefore suggested the sending of a war vessel to Cape Haitien. The Secretary of the Navy replied that he had dispatched the U. S. S. Washington to Cape Haitien, in response to his suggestion. The Washington arrived at Cape Haitien on January 23 and left for Port au Prince three days later. On January 29 the Secretary of State wrote to the Secretary of the Navy:

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 26th instant, in which you make inquiries regarding the services desired of the U. S. S. Washington at Port au Prince at this time.

In reply it is requested that the flag officer of the Washington be instructed to cooperate with the American Minister at Port au Prince, and to accompany him to the Foreign Office when he presents the instruction of this Government warning the Government of Haiti against the removal of funds from the National Bank of Haiti by the present de-facto Government.

This confirms verbal arrangements between the Division of Operations of the Navy Department and the Division of Latin-American Affairs of the State Department, in accordance with which telegram O. P. 6SD 781 dated January 27, 1915, was sent by the Navy Department to the flag officer of the Washington.

On February 2 the following telegram was sent from the State Department to the Secretary of the Navy:

In reply to the request of the commander of the cruiser squadron for immediate and definite instructions relative to the protection of bank property at Port au Prince, I have the honor to inform you that the Secretary of State verbally requested the Secretary of the Navy to instruct the commander of the cruiser squadron to land marines and sailors in cooperating with the American Minister at Port au Prince, should that be deemed necessary. . . .

On June 8, 1915, four days after the rejection by the Haitian Government of the treaty again proposed by the Fuller Mission for the subjection of Haiti to American dictation, the Charge d'Affaires at Port au Prince notified the Department of State that the Haitian Government could not renew the permit for the U. S. S. Eagle to remain in Haitian waters because the revolutionary elements, headed by Bobo, had made much political capital out of the presence of the ship, informing the people in the Cape Haitien region that it was proof of Bobo's assertion that the country has been "sold to the United States" by the Haitian President and that the Eagle was there to consolidate American control. Opposition to American interference was daily becoming more acute and the danger of "disorder" accordingly greater. In the course of the next month internal opposition to the existing Government increased, the revolutionary struggle culminating on July 27 in the massacre by President Villbrun Guillaume Sam of the political prisoners and his consequent decapita-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Why Should YOU Worry About Haiti?

Because

Your Government invaded Haiti in 1915, after Haiti had refused to give us control of its politics and finance;

Your Government thereupon forced the election of a puppet president who'd agreed to do its bidding;

Your Government then forced, by the use of its military forces, as its admirals admit, negotiation of a treaty which gave us complete control, including a naval base;

Your Government thereupon forced the adoption of a new constitution which granted Americans the right to hold land;

Your Government killed two or three thousand harmless Haitians—as against thirteen Marines killed;

Your Government is still maintaining martial law in Haiti and continuing an "American" rule which is in effect "government of, for, and by, the National City Bank"; and

Because You, as an American, are responsible

and its *your* job to see the thing set right.

Now

here is your chance. A group of Americans obtained the appointment of a Senatorial Commission to Investigate Conditions in Haiti and in Santo Domingo. Now, organized as *The Haiti-Santo Domingo Independence Society,* they intend to see that the facts are discovered, proved, and made known. Through their attorney the stories from the *Navy's Secret Dispatch Book,* printed in *The Nation,* have been made public record. (More revelations are coming.) They will keep on working. But they need help—money. The Haitians and Dominicans find it hard to raise money under martial law and a hostile military Occupation. They are doing their share; we must do ours.

The Senate Commission leaves for Haiti and Santo Domingo on November 18.

The Society wants to send its attorney, an assistant, interpreter, and publicity secretaries.

How Much Will You Help *NOW*?

The time is short—the need *urgent*

TEAR THIS OUT

I enclose $..... for the work of the Haiti-Santo Domingo Independence Society.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

Make checks payable to L. S. GANNETT,
Assistant Treasurer, 20 Vesey St.,
New York City.

Chairman, MOORFIELD STOREY
Vice-Chairman, JAMES WELDON JOHNSON
Secretary, HELENA HILL WEED
Treasurer, ROBERT HERRICK

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tion by friends and relatives of his victims. Order was immediately restored by the Haitian authorities, but on July 28, the day after the outbreak, marines were landed at Port au Prince and the Secretary of State, now Mr. Lansing, wrote to the Secretary of the Navy:

In confirmation of the telephonic conversation between the Chief of the Bureau of Operations of your Department and an official of the Latin-American Division, I have the honor to request, in view of the grave situation now existing in Port au Prince, Haiti, that Admiral Caperton be instructed to land marines from the Washington at the earliest opportunity; that he request the captains of both the British and French warships, which the Department understands are now about to proceed to Port au Prince, not to land their marines; and that he assure them that the American forces are ready to and will protect foreign interests in Port au Prince. 838.00/1220 (16870-266)

He further wrote, two days later:

. . . I have the honor to request that instructions be issued the Admiral authorizing him to continue in military control of Port au Prince, and that he should under no circumstances hand over the government of the city to any Haitian authorities until such time as I have opportunity of conferring with you.

Admiral Caperton, in command of the forces in Haitian waters, was advised of these instructions and on July 31 he wired to the Secretary of the Navy:

No de facto government exists at Port au Prince. All government functions at present undertaken carried on by committee citizens acting practically under my direction. Chamber Deputies asks permission elect President but deferred in compliance my request. Time for election President not propitious for maintaining law and order.

For the "Financial Control of Haiti"

The Admiral followed this message with a more complete cabled description of the situation on August 2. It must be remembered that the Cacos, although commonly referred to by American officers and by the press of the United States as mere bandits, were in fact a strong opposition party which bitterly fought the proposed policy of compromise with and submission to the United States. The original purpose of American intervention is here frankly admitted.

Large numbers Haitian revolutions largely due existing professional soldiers called Cacos organized in bands under lawless and irresponsible chiefs who fight on side offering greatest inducement but nominally recognize Government. Cacos feared by all Haitians and practically control politics. About 1,500 Cacos now in Port au Prince ostensibly disarmed but retain organization and believed to have arms and ammunition hidden. They have demanded election Bobo President and Congress terrorized by mere demand on point complying but restrained by my request. Present condition no other man can be elected on account of fear of Cacos. Believe can control Congress. Can prevent any Caco outbreak in Port au Prince after arrival regiment of marines U. S. S. Connecticut. Stable government not possible in Haiti until Cacos are disbanded and power broken. Such action now imperative Port au Prince if United States desires to negotiate treaty for financial control Haiti. To accomplish this must have regiment marines in addition to that on Connecticut. Majority populace well disposed and submissive. Will welcome disbanding Cacos and stopping revolutions. Should agreement with Haiti be desired, recommend Capt. Beach U. S. N. be appointed single commissioner for United States with full instructions and authority. He has conducted my negotiations on shore and I believe has confidence generally of Haitians. As future relations between U. S. and Haiti depend largely on course of action taken at this time, earnestly request to be informed fully of policy of United States. 23302. Caperton.

Caperton Picks a Candidate

Admiral Caperton's attitude toward the coming election is more clearly indicated in his recent testimony before the Senate Committee where he stated that if he had permitted an election immediately after the death of President Sam, there was no doubt but that Bobo would have been elected. Bobo, he said, was reputed to be "a man of patriotism, honor, and intellect but was unfriendly to the policies of the United States in Haiti, and refused to be bound by any terms in advance of his election, saying he would work solely for Haiti's good." He told of his effort to secure as a candidate the former Minister from Haiti to the United States, Hon. J. N. Legere, but Legere refused to run and sent him the following message: "Tell the Admiral that I will do all I can for my country, but I cannot bind myself in advance to any terms that the U. S. will demand. I must be in a position to defend Haiti's interests. I am for Haiti; not for the United States." Dartiguenave, however, volunteered, while still a candidate for the presidency, to accede to "any terms the United States might propose," including "the cession outright of Mole Saint Nicolas." Although the reason given for landing marines in Port au Prince and assuming control of the government was that there was no constitutional government, Admiral Caperton testified that he refused to allow an election and the consequent formation of a government on the ground, as stated to the Navy Department in a dispatch sent on August 5, 1915, that "there would be complete machinery for all government functions should President be elected now," and that as long as he could prevent an election he was in complete control of the country through the committee of safety.

The situation became daily more acute, and on August 8 Admiral Caperton cabled the Navy Department for further instructions. It will be noted that the "submissive" attitude of the citizens, mentioned in the last dispatch, seems in the interval to have vanished, owing to their growing realization that the intervention of the United States had more menacing aspects than those of a mere landing-party.

Senators, deputies and citizens clamoring for election. Today was fixed for election but postponed my request. Effected this by influence with President, Senate, and Chamber Deputies. They may refuse postpone later than Thursday in which case only stop by force which would be extremely undesirable, or may meet without notice and elect president. Session Congress closes August 17, does not meet again for nine months. Congress desires meet again as soon as possible because many things to regulate after election. If Thursday not desired by Department, request be informed immediately earliest date Department willing for election take place for purpose allaying excitement. Will use every effort delay election but *cannot guarantee delay later than Thursday unless use force.* Excitement and uneasiness with possibility outbreak will continue until election is over. 24008. Caperton.

"Haiti Must Agree to Any Terms Demanded"

Dartiguenave appeared, from the point of view of the United States, as the most desirable candidate, almost the only man, in fact, who was willing to run upon the terms offered. Admiral Caperton reported to the Navy Department that Dartiguenave "realizes that Haiti must agree to any terms demanded by the United States, and he professes to believe that any terms laid down by us will be for Haitian benefit. He states that he will use all his influence with Haitian Congress to have Haiti agree to such terms." On August 9 the Navy Department replied in these words:

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Disarmament?

THE forthcoming conference at Washington will be the most important gathering of the sort ever held in this country. It may be the most momentous assemblage in history. Upon the success or failure of the conference the fate of civilization may depend.

Public sentiment in this and other countries may determine the result at Washington. If public sentiment is properly informed and adequately crystallized it cannot fail to affect the actions of the various delegations. This fact, as President Harding pointed out in his letter read at the opening of the Press Congress of the World, places a heavy responsibility upon the press of the world. With this in mind THE BALTIMORE SUN has made unusual arrangements for the handling both of the news of the Conference and discussion of the questions which will arise there.

Among those who will contribute exclusively to its columns during and preceding the Conference are the following:

H. N. Brailsford the noted British publicist, author of "The War of Steel and Gold," a study of the economic causes of war. Mr. Brailsford will outline in his preliminary articles a basis of agreement between the Powers on the Far Eastern Question, based upon a matured study of the political and economic forces which have combined to make that question a threatening one. *The first four of Mr. Brailsford's articles will be published in THE BALTIMORE SUN November 7, 8, 9, 10.*

Hector C. Bywater whose recent book, "Sea Power in the Pacific," is regarded as the most authoritative existing work on the naval problems of the Pacific Ocean, will begin his comment on naval disarmament in *THE SUN of November 11, 12 and 13.*

Dr. John Dewey the famous Columbia Professor of Philosophy, who has spent the last two years in China and Japan. His studies have led him into the fields of Politics and Government and he is probably better qualified to discuss many phases of the questions which will arise during the Conference than any other living American. *Dr. Dewey's first articles will appear in THE SUN November 14, 15, 16 and 17.*

These articles will be followed by contributions from

Dr. John H. Latane
head of the Department of History of the Johns Hopkins University, authority on international law, the Monroe Doctrine and American foreign policy.

J. St. Loe Strachey
the brilliant editor of the London Spectator, a tested friend of America, who has some definite ideas which have gained large currency in England concerning Anglo-American relations.

Rear Admiral McLean
Rear-Admiral Walter McLean, U. S. N., retired, who will discuss the naval problems presented by the conference and who is familiar, through many years of service on the Asiatic Station, with Oriental conditions.

In addition THE SUN will publish by special arrangement Mr. H. G. Wells' reports on the Conference and the comment of Sir Philip Gibbs.

THE BALTIMORE SUN

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Whenever the Haitians wish you may permit the election of a president to take place. The election of Dartiguenave is preferred by the United States. You will assure the Haitians that the United States has no other motive than the establishing of a firm and lasting government by the Haitian people, and wishes to assist them now and at all times in the future to maintain both their political independence and territorial integrity unimpaired.

Negotiating a Treaty by Force

Dartiguenave was elected on August 12 and the United States immediately proceeded to press the treaty which should establish its control of Haiti. On August 14 the Secretary of State sent a message for transmission to the Charge d'Affaires at Port au Prince. A fuller text appears on pages 552 and 553 of this issue.

For more than a year the Haitian Government has been familiar with the terms of the treaty contained in the Department's instructions of July 2, 1914, with which they have already expressed their agreement regarding the principal part. Recently however assurances have been received that the Haitian authorities are willing to go further than before, including the cession to the United States of Mole Saint Nicolas. In view of the friendly attitude of the Haitian Government as shown by these proposals you will please prepare forthwith a draft of a treaty as outlined in this cablegram. Without delay submit it informally to the President-Elect, and advise him that the Department believes that, as a guaranty of sincerity and interest of the Haitians in orderly peaceful development of their country, that the Haitian Congress will be pleased to pass forthwith a resolution authorizing the President-elect to conclude, without modification, the treaty submitted by you. When officially notified that such a resolution has been passed by Congress extend to the President-elect the formal recognition of this Government and simultaneously conclude with the newly elected President of Haiti to the end that it may be forthwith submitted for ratification by the present Haitian Congress before its adjournment, a treaty in strict accordance with the draft referred to, with the following alterations and additions. . . . Necessary full powers will be cabled you with least possible delay. Lansing. Report time this delivered to American Charge. . . . Daniels.

How the subsequent actions of the American military authorities were made to appear as the result of a spontaneous demand on the part of the Haitian Government is indicated in the following passages of a dispatch, dated August 19, from Secretary Daniels to Admiral Caperton:

State Department desires you assume charge of following customs houses. . . . [The ten most important ports and custom houses in Haiti, including Port au Prince, are here listed.] Confer with Charge d'Affaires *for purpose of having President Dartiguenave solicit above action. Whether President so requests or not, proceed to carry out State Department's desire.* Supply American officials placed in charge with necessary customs guards. Direct officials collect all import and export duties to be immediately deposited by them with respective local branches of National Bank of Haiti in separate account opened in your name. Draw against this account for purposes mentioned above, surplus to be held for time being by United States Government in trust for people of Haiti. Acknowledge. 21008. Daniels.

The following significant dispatch was sent by Admiral Caperton to the Secretary of the Navy on August 19:

20018. Following message is secret and confidential. United States has now actually accomplished a military intervention in affairs of another nation. Hostility exists now in Haiti and has existed for a number of years against such action. Serious hostile contacts have only been avoided by prompt and rapid military action which has given the United States a control before resistance has had time to organize. We now hold capital of country and two other important seaports. [Names of forces under his command and discussion of military aspects of proposed occupation of seacoast towns inserted here.] To occupy these seven additional ports means practically military occupation of sea-coast of Haiti which is extensive. No attempt must be made to accomplish this until there are available sufficient forces and sufficient officers, and organization completed for assuming custom service. This will require not less than one regiment of marines of not less than eight companies, the artillery battalion of marines, and three more gunboats or light cruisers. *Consider it imperative that these contemplated operations be kept for the present secret and undertaken only when force is available and custom service organized and ready. This secrecy extremely important now pending treaty negotiations.* [Recommendations regarding necessary forces to carry this out appear here.] While at later date after constabulary is organized our forces may be withdrawn, yet at present moment United States should take no chance of injury to its dignity and prestige.

The customs houses were one by one taken over by American forces and in accordance with this policy of seizure and occupation, Admiral Caperton on August 21 communicated to the commanding officer of the Connecticut, Captain E. H. Durrell, the following orders. It will be noted that the American Occupation was to be supported on Haitian money.

In accordance orders Navy Department you will keep control custom house at Cape Haitien with an American officer as collector of customs. Collect all import and export duties. Open account in local branch National Bank of Haiti in name of Commander Olmstead, military governor, and deposit total customs receipts therein daily from now on. Draw against this account for the following purposes: First for conducting such temporary public works as will afford immediate relief through employment for starving populace and discharged soldiers, and second for supporting local military government. Surplus will be held by American military governor in trust for Haitien people. Acknowledge. 17021. Caperton.

On August 25 the Admiral reported to the Secretary of the Navy and to President Wilson:

Referring American Charge "d'Affaires" radiogram of August 25, 6 p. m.: For better supporting treaty negotiations, unless otherwise directed, will for the present cease seizing custom house and will for the present conduct no further military operations except those necessary for preserving peace and order or for other important military reasons. In event resignation present Haitian Government *I recommend that military government be established Port au Prince, Haiti, with American officer as military governor.* Present is most critical time in relations with Haiti and our decision now will to a great extent determine future course. *If military government is established we would be bound not to abandon Haitian situation until affairs of country are set at right and predominant interests of United States of America secured.* Necessity for action on my part will come if Government resigns and I should at that time know wishes of United States of American Government. 23425. Caperton.

"Military Pressure at Propitious Moments"

This was followed on August 31 by a message to the Navy Department stating that negotiations were not proceeding satisfactorily because of the "changed attitude" of the Haitian Cabinet and the members of Congress. Their attitude appeared to be due to a feeling of resentment at American intervention and at the seizure of the customs houses. On September 1 Admiral Caperton stated in a message to the Secretary of the Navy and the President:

Conditions Port au Prince, Haiti, uneasy. Continued reports of minor officials exercising unwarranted authority and committing other abuses which Government appears unable to con-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Far Coast Lines

SURVEY GRAPHIC bids you to a voyage of discovery. The magazine is founded in the belief that the drama of human living may be as thrilling as the tale of a battle; that the destiny of a million new citizens, the struggle for public health, the aspirations of workaday men and women are as colorful as a trip to the Fortunate Isles. Survey Graphic will reach into the corners of the world—America and all the Seven Seas—to wherever the tides of a generous progress are astir. Its cargo will be stuff of creative experience, observation and invention. It will turn to the graphic arts to visualize these things in all manner of illustration, and for buoyancy seek the threefold gifts of vision, authenticity and charm.

The Japanese and the Kin of Balboa

IN Survey Graphic for November, now on sale, Chester H. Rowell, formerly editor of the Fresno Republican, gives a Pacific Coast point of view on some questions before the Disarmament Conference—"Shall Japan expand horizontally or vertically?"

London trades unionists are building a thousand homes on government contracts. A revolutionary guild movement discussed by an American builder, Alexander M. Bing of New York.

For the first time in any American city, the administrative anatomy of police, courts and jails have been studied in a complete way by the Cleveland Foundation. Its findings make the liveliest sort of article by John Love. The Foundation, he writes, "brings its camera around before breakfast and catches the venerable lady (Justice) in her kimona without time to so much as powder her nose. She hasn't been able even to adjust her handkerchief over both eyes." It appears that if Ali Baba had arrested his 40 thieves in Cleveland, 28 would have gone free, 12 would have been sentenced, but only 6 would have gone to the "pen."

Dean Roscoe Pound, of Harvard Law School, brings home the meaning of it in "Criminal Justice in the American City."

What Would the Irish Do with Ireland?

WHAT dreams are they dreaming for it—their seers and their builders, their new men and their young women, their poets, their artists, their cooperators and labor leaders, their statesmen? Have there been foreshadowings of the future in the cooperative movement which has revolutionized whole countrysides, or in the extra-legal republican government?

Would the Irish merely reframe their scheme of national life on a pattern that might have fitted Cromwell's time or the days of '76; or may we forecast a new Ireland, Celtic to the core but instinct with the modern spirit, a commonwealth as boldly experimental as the political republic of George Washington's time?

These questions were asked in Ireland by a representative of Survey Graphic. The answers make a striking discussion of Reconstruction in Ireland for the forthcoming December issue.

Articles by Sir Horace Plunkett, president of the Irish Agricultural Organization Society; "Æ," who welcomes this opportunity "to make an intellectual statement of the Irish situation for the U. S. A."; James Stephens, director of the National Museum at Dublin; Erskine Childers, member of the Irish Cabinet; Mrs. Sheehy Skeffington, Countess Markieviez, James Douglas, Prof. Robert Mitchell Henry, Sir Edward Coey Bigger, M.D., Lionel Smith-Gordon, "Richard Rowley," a moderate Ulster business man, and others.

SUCH a monthly magazine forms a complement to the weekly journal of opinion. Its striking illustrations visualize the things The Nation discusses. Its broad pages and less frequent publication give opportunity for unhurried, comprehensive treatment.

"OLD friends and new of Survey Associates, we bid to a voyage of discovery. For our idea is by no means to waterlog the venture into a freighter of worthy causes, but to be mindful of the invigorating gales of discussion, the currents that stir in troubled times even as in troubled waters, the salt spray of criticism and that gleam of far coast lines which men call the ideal."

PAUL U. KELLOGG, *Editor.*

SURVEY GRAPHIC
115 East 19th Street, New York

☐ Book me for the first year's cruise—$3.00
☐ or for a trial trip of 4 months—$1.00.
I enclose passage money.

Name .....
Address .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

trol. Newly appointed police in towns near Port au Prince overbearing and cause general complaint. Cabinet minister warned me today to be especially on guard against outbreak against Government today and tomorrow and intimated present Government would not be adverse to martial law. President states action taken by Haitien Minister at Washington, D. C., Menos relative treaty negotiations was done without knowledge or consent of President or council of Cabinet. Have reliable information Minister Foreign Affairs Sannon communicated with Menos relative this matter on his own responsibility. Will occupy custom house Port au Prince tomorrow. Any outbreak or trouble Port au Prince may necessitate martial law. 23401. Caperton.

On September 8 the Admiral sent the following instructions to Captain Durrell:

Successful negotiation of treaty is prominent part present mission. After encountering many difficulties treaty situation at present looks more favorable than usual. *This has been effected by exercising military pressure at propitious moments in negotiations.* Yesterday two members of Cabinet who have blocked negotiations resigned. President himself believed to be anxious to conclude treaty. At present am holding up offensive operations and allowing President time to complete Cabinet and try again. Am therefore not yet ready to begin offensive operations at Cape Haitien but will hold them in abeyance as additional pressure. . . . Take no offensive action except such necessary to protect life and property and hold town for the present. Keep me fully informed of food situation. 23108. Caperton.

The Haiti-United States Treaty

THE history of the framing and passage of the treaty with Haiti is complicated by the numerous proposals and counter-proposals which were submitted and rejected. In 1914 the Haitian Government received the text of a projected agreement with the United States. Before any action upon it was taken it was superseded by a text submitted in May, 1915, by the Fuller Commission then visiting the country. The Haitian Government considered the proposals and submitted in reply a counter-project, suggesting certain modifications. An exchange of notes between Mr. Fuller and the Haitian Minister of Foreign Affairs followed, but in August this whole series of projects was again superseded by a new form of agreement based on the treaty of 1914 but modified in certain very important respects. The new proposals were contained in a radiogram from Washington received by Admiral Caperton on August 14 for transmission to the American Charge d'Affaires, Mr. Davis. It read in part as follows:

For more than a year the Haitian Government has been familiar with the terms of the treaty contained in Department's instructions of July 1, 1914, with which they have already expressed their agreement regarding the principal part. Recently, however, assurances have been received that the Haitian authorities are willing now to go farther than before, including the cession to the United States of Mole St. Nicolas. In view of that friendly attitude of the Haitian Government as shown by these proposals you will please prepare forthwith a draft of treaty as outlined in this cablegram. Without delay submit it informally to the President-elect, and advise him that the Department believes that, as a guaranty of sincerity and interest of the Haitians in orderly and peaceful development of their country, the Haitian Congress will be pleased to pass forthwith a resolution authorizing the President-elect to conclude, without modification, the treaty submitted by you. When officially notified that such a resolution has been passed by Congress extend to the President-elect the formal recognition of this Government and simultaneously conclude with the newly

SIR PHILIP GIBBS

Has Written Another Great Book

More That Must Be Told - - -

Not a "War Book"

More That Must Be Told is not a war book. It is a cross section of Europe and the United States since the peace. It is an x-ray of diplomatic motives and blundering since the peace, and their effect on the world to-day.

More That Must Be Told - - -

is an indictment of "the old gang, still for the most part in command of the machinery of government" and whose "arrangement of peace created new burdens and rivalries which can only be maintained until another explosion happens, more monstrous than the last and destructive of white civilization as we know it and like it." Sir Philip finds that some of them still "take the old cynical view of the European jungle, and rely upon the old philosophy of alliances, groups united in self-interest, buffer states between them and their hereditary foes, which made up the old policy of the balance of power."

More That Must Be Told - - -

gives facts gathered from personal conversation with people of all classes throughout Europe, facts which censors and secret influence have kept from the public. It is a vital book which will help you interpret the decisions of the Disarmament Conference at Washington." It will be published Nov. 10th. $2.50

To get the most out of what goes on at the Disarmament Conference fortify yourself with facts from these important books. You can get them at any bookstore or order them direct from the publishers.

Experiments in International Administration
By Francis Bowes Sayre $1.75

Outlines of Public Finance
By Dr. Merlin H. Hunter $3.25

Principles and Problems of Government
By Charles G. Haines and Bertha M. Haines $3.00

Russia as an American Problem
By John Spargo $2.50

Europe's Morning After
By Kenneth L. Roberts $3.00

The Making of the Reparation and Economic Sections of the Treaty
By Bernard M. Baruch $3.00

The Inside Story of The Peace Conference
By Dr. E. J. Dillon $3.00

The Greatest Failure in All History
By John Spargo $2.50

The Human Costs of the War
By Homer Folks $2.75

Harper & Brothers, New York

Established 1817

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

elected President of Haiti, to the end that it may be forthwith submitted for ratification by the present Haitian Congress before its adjournment, a treaty in strict accordance with the draft referred to, with the following alterations and additions:

ALTERATIONS

Omit from Article 1 the words "if he shall deem it necessary and expedient, or if the Haitian Government shall request," so that the portion of Article 1, referring to the appointment of financial adviser, shall read as follows "and the President of the United States shall designate a financial adviser to the Republic of Haiti, who shall devise an adequate system of public accounting et cetera," make corresponding changes throughout the treaty, particularly in Articles 4 and 8. Omit last two words "of account," at end of Article 1.

This change, it will be seen, eliminated even the pretense of allowing the Haitian Government an option in the management of its affairs; but in one respect the text was altered in the direction of preserving Haiti's dignity. In place of the phrase "The President of the United States shall appoint, etc.," the amended text reads: "The President of Haiti shall appoint, upon nomination by the President of the United States, etc."

In Article 2, after the word "receivership," add "and to the financial adviser," change "its" before "execution" to "the."

In Article 3 substitute "financial adviser" for "general receiver" in both instances.

First paragraph Article 4 will read "all sums collected and received by the general receiver shall be applied, first, to the payment of the salaries and allowances of the general receiver, his assistants and employees and expenses of the receivership including the salaries and expenses of the financial adviser, second, to the interest and sinking fund of the public debt of the Republic of Haiti, and, third, to the maintenance of the constabulary referred to in Article 9, and then the remainder to the Haitian Government for the purpose of current expenses.

Second paragraph of Article 4 will end with words "previous month."

Additional after Article 8 insert articles as follows:

The remaining articles were amplified to extend the control of the United States. The treaty as thus amended was submitted to the Haitian Government which finally, after being subjected to political pressure and military control as evidenced in the foregoing documents, agreed to its passage in a form slightly changed. This final form we print herewith:

PREAMBLE

The United States and the Republic of Haiti, desiring to confirm and strengthen the amity existing between them by the most cordial cooperation in measures for their common advantage, and the Republic of Haiti, desiring to remedy the present condition of its revenues and finances, to maintain the tranquillity of the Republic, to carry out plans for the economic development and prosperity of the Republic and its people, and the United States being in full sympathy with all of these aims and objects and desiring to contribute in all proper ways to their accomplishment;

The United States and the Republic of Haiti have resolved to conclude a convention with these objects in view, and have appointed for that purpose plenipotentiaries:

The President of the Republic of Haiti; Mr. Louis Borno, Secretary of State of Foreign Affairs and Public Instruction;

The President of the United States; Mr. Robert Beale Davis, Junior, Charge d'Affaires of the United States of America;

Who, having exhibited to each other their respective powers, which are seen to be full in good and true form, have agreed as follows:

ARTICLE I. The Government of the United States will by its good offices aid the Haitian Government in the proper and

SUPPOSE
NOBODY CARED!

What would happen to the 10,000,000 innocent, unfortunate, suffering children of Russia, would be an open secret.

"The problem of the children is one of the gravest that confronts the relief commissions. Thousands of children have been abandoned by the migrating peasants. Many are dropped at the doorway of schools and soviet institutions. Others are left to roam about the country in hungry hordes. From the region of Samara come stories of parents who throw their children into the Volga and then sit down stoically to wait for death."

IDA O'NEIL, Special Correspondent,
The Nation, Sept. 14, 1921.

Is it not possible for us to forget political differences for the sake of humanity?

The American Committee for Relief of Children in Soviet Russia by special arrangement with the Soviet Russia Medical Relief is making bi-weekly shipments direct to the People's Commissariat of Public Health at Moscow.

$10.00
WILL SUPPORT A CHILD FOR A MONTH

The need is very urgent—nothing but immediate relief can avert a pitiful catastrophe, disease, misery and death.

WILL YOU HELP?

Make all checks and money orders payable to:

American Committee for Relief of Children in Soviet Russia

ADVISORY BOARD

DR. PHYLLIS ACKERMAN
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES
JUDAH L. MAGNES
DR. HENRY NEUMANN
ALDERMAN B. C. VLADECK
HELEN HARTLEY JENKINS
CRYSTAL EASTMAN
CLARE SHERIDAN
WALTER LIPPMAN
MARTHA DAVIS
RUTH PICKERING

ARTHUR S. LEEDS, TREAS.

American Committee for Relief of Children in Soviet Russia

110 West 40th Street **Room 506** **New York City**

Enclosed find $.....as my contribution towards the relief of Children in Soviet Russia. Please send acknowledgement to

Name.....

Street.....

City.....

N-11-9-21

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

efficient development of its agricultural, mineral, and commercial resources and in the establishment of the finances of Haiti on a firm and solid basis.

ART. II. The President of Haiti shall appoint, upon nomination by the President of the United States, a General Receiver and such aids and employees as may be necessary, who shall collect, receive, and apply all customs duties on imports and exports accruing at the several custom houses and ports of entry of the Republic of Haiti.

The President of Haiti shall appoint, upon nomination by the President of the United States, a Financial Adviser who shall be an officer attached to the Ministry of Finance, to give effect to whose proposals and labors the Minister will lend efficient aid. The Financial Adviser shall devise an adequate system of public accounting to aid in increasing the revenues and adjusting them to the expenses, inquire into the validity of the debts of the Republic, enlighten both Governments with reference to all eventual debts, recommend improved methods of collecting and applying the revenues, and make such other recommendations to the Minister of Finance as may be deemed necessary for the welfare and prosperity of Haiti.

ART. III. The Government of the Republic of Haiti will provide by law or appropriate decrees for the payment of all customs duties to the General Receiver, and will extend to the Receivership, and to the Financial Adviser, all needful aid and full protection in the execution of the powers conferred and duties imposed herein; and the United States on its part will extend aid and protection.

ART. IV. Upon the appointment of the Financial Adviser, the Government of the Republic of Haiti in cooperation with the Financial Adviser, shall collate, classify, arrange, and make full statement of all the debts of the Republic, the amounts, character, maturity, and condition thereof, and the interest accruing and the sinking fund requisite to their final discharge.

ART. V. All sums collected and received by the General Receiver shall be applied, first to the payment of the salaries and allowances of the General Receiver, his assistants and employees, and expenses of the Receivership, including the salary and expenses of the Financial Adviser, which salaries will be determined by previous agreement; second, to the interest and sinking fund of the public debt of the Republic of Haiti; and, third, to the maintenance of the constabulary referred to in Article X; and then the remainder to the Haitian Government for the purposes of current expenses.

In making these applications the General Receiver will proceed to pay salaries and allowances monthly and expenses as they arise, and on the first of each calendar month will set aside in a separate fund the quantum of the collections and receipts of the previous month.

ART. VI. The expenses of the Receivership, including salaries and allowances of the General Receiver, his assistants and employees, and the salary and expenses of the Financial Adviser, shall not exceed 5 per centum of the collections and receipts from customs duties, unless by agreement by the two Governments.

ART. VII. The General Receiver shall make monthly reports of all collections, receipts, and disbursements to the appropriate officers of the Republic of Haiti and to the Department of State of the United States, which reports shall be open to inspection and verification at all times by the appropriate authorities of each of the said Governments.

ART. VIII. The Republic of Haiti shall not increase its public debt, except by previous agreement with the President of the United States, and shall not contract any debt or assume any financial obligation unless the ordinary revenues of the Republic available for that purpose, after defraying the expenses of the Government, shall be adequate to pay the interest and provide a sinking fund for the final discharge of such debt.

ART. IX. The Republic of Haiti will not, without the assent of the President of the United States, modify the customs duties in a manner to reduce the revenues therefrom; and in order that

ARE YOU SATISFIED

WITH THE PROGRESS MADE IN PUBLIC EDUCATION ?

The Teachers Union of the City of New York, organized in 1916 as a local of the American Federation of Teachers, is not satisfied and is striving to educate teachers to organize for improving education, and to bring about

1—Healthful and safe conditions in the schools.
2—The use of the full resources of our national wealth for socially inspired public education.
3—The reorganization of educational plans and subjects in terms of interesting and significant modern life.
4—The establishing of civil liberty in the municipal and state systems of education, now largely destroyed by reactionary legislation and official rules.
5—The participation by teachers in the management of the schools as a means of creating vastly better schools, and of developing professional self-respect in a potentially important profession.
6—The creation of professional standards by the teachers themselves by which teaching may be made attractive and efficient, and education may be made more clearly an effective social agency.

The Teachers Union is a pioneer in this field. The work is difficult and is attended with economic risks to Union leaders, for the enemies of the movement are numerous.

But the benefit of this movement is social. The public stands to gain. Therefore, the Teachers Union frankly asks for financial cooperation from the far-seeing liberal element throughout the country. The success of this social venture in New York will encourage liberal teachers everywhere.

$10,000 is needed to aid in the maintenance of the executive, educational and publication service of the Teachers Union for the remainder of this year and for the year 1922. Reports of the work will be made to all contributors.

HENRY R. LINVILLE, *President.*
RUTH G. HARDY, *Vice-President.*
JOSEPH JABLONOWER, *Secretary-Treasurer.*

The undersigned persons believe in the socially important work that has been done by the Teachers Union, and bespeak the generous consideration of all those interested in the reorganization and improvement of public education:

MARTHA BENSLEY BRUÈRE, Women's City Club.
JOHN DEWEY, Columbia University.
JOHN LOVEJOY ELLIOTT, Hudson Guild.
JOHN A. FITCH, New York School of Social Work.
JOSEPH K. HART, Associate Editor, The Survey.
JOHN HAYNES HOLMES, The Community Church.
FLORENCE KELLEY, National Consumers' League.
HARRY F. WARD, Union Theological Seminary.

Checks may be sent to Joseph Jablonower, Secretary-Treasurer, The Teachers Union of the City of New York, 70 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the revenues of the Republic may be adequate to meet the public debt and the expenses of the Government, to preserve tranquillity and to promote material prosperity, the Republic of Haiti will cooperate with the Financial Adviser, in his recommendations for improvement in the methods of collecting and disbursing the revenues and for new sources of needed income.

ART. X. The Haitian Government obligates itself, for the preservation of domestic peace, the security of individual rights, and the full observance of the provisions of this treaty, to create without delay an efficient constabulary, urban and rural, composed of native Haitians. This constabulary shall be organized and officered by Americans appointed by the President of Haiti, upon nomination by the President of the United States. The Haitian Government shall clothe these officers with the proper and necessary authority and uphold them in the performance of their functions. These officers will be replaced by Haitians as they, by examination conducted under direction of a board to be selected by the senior American officer of this constabulary in the presence of a Representative of the Haitian Government, are found to be qualified to assume such duties. The constabulary herein provided for shall, under the direction of the Haitian Government, have supervision and control of arms and ammunition, military supplies, and traffic therein, throughout the country. The High Contracting Parties agree that the stipulations in this article are necessary to prevent factional strife and disturbances.

ART. XI. The Government of Haiti agrees not to surrender any of the territory of the Republic of Haiti by sale, lease, or otherwise, or jurisdiction over such territory, to any foreign government or Power, nor to enter into any treaty or contract with any foreign Power or Powers that will impair or tend to impair the independence of Haiti.

ART. XII. The Haitian Government agrees to execute with the United States a protocol for the settlement, by arbitration or otherwise, of all pending pecuniary claims of foreign corporations, companies, citizens, or subjects against Haiti.

ART. XIII. The Republic of Haiti, being desirous to further the development of its natural resources, agrees to undertake and execute such measures as, in the opinion of the High Contracting Parties, may be necessary for the sanitation and public improvement of the Republic, under the supervision and direction of an engineer or engineers, to be appointed by the President of Haiti upon nomination of the President of the United States, and authorized for that purpose by the Government of Haiti.

ART. XIV. The High Contracting Parties shall have authority to take such steps as may be necessary to insure the complete attainment of any of the objects comprehended in this treaty; and, should the necessity occur, the United States will lend an efficient aid for the preservation of Haitian independence and the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property, and individual liberty.

ART. XV. The present treaty shall be approved and ratified by the High Contracting Parties in conformity with their respective laws, and the ratification thereof shall be exchanged in the City of Washington as soon as may be possible.

ART. XVI. The present treaty shall remain in full force and virtue for the term of ten years, to be counted from the day of exchange of ratifications, and further for another term of ten years if, for specific reasons presented by either of the High Contracting Parties, the purpose of this treaty has not been fully accomplished.

In faith whereof, the respective Plenipotentiaries have signed the present convention in duplicate in the English and French languages, and have thereunto affixed their seals.

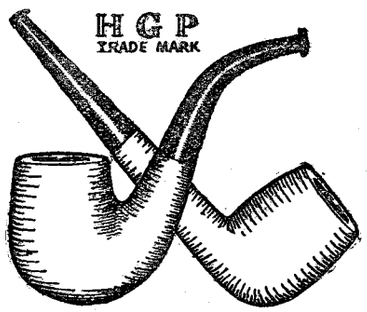
Done at Port au Prince (Haiti), the 16th day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand nine hundred and fifteen.

ROBERT BEALE DAVIS, JR., Charge d'Affaires of the United States

LOUIS BORNO, Secrétaire d'Etat des Relations Extérieures et de l'Instruction Publique

DON'T SMOKE PAINT

Our pipes are made of the finest imported well seasoned BRIAR ROOT. We use NEITHER PAINT NOR VARNISH, leaving pores open to absorb moistures. They color like meerschaums. Absolutely NO BREAKING-IN. Each pipe is perfect and guaranteed.



WE MAKE THEM

Mail Orders Filled ***Pipes Repaired Promptly***

BARCLAY PIPE SHOP

41 BARCLAY STREET **Corner Church Street**

The Disarmament Conference

will deal with one of the great problems on the successful solution of which the continuance of our present day civilization depends.

There are many others of equally vital importance awaiting settlement in which the interests of the Nations of the world are as closely interwoven.

The Manchester Guardian
WEEKLY

gives the liberal European perspective on all those world questions which today are also challenging the best minds of America.

Its news columns give facts without fear or favor; its Special Correspondence from the capitals of Europe and the Orient is not only brilliant but also reliable; its Editorial comment is frank and unbiased.

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY is therefore indispensable to every American who desires unbiased information enabling him to form for himself a balanced judgment on vital world affairs.

----------MAIL COUPON BELOW----------

To GUARDIAN NEWSPAPERS, Inc.,
Dept. N, Candler Building,
New York City, N. Y.

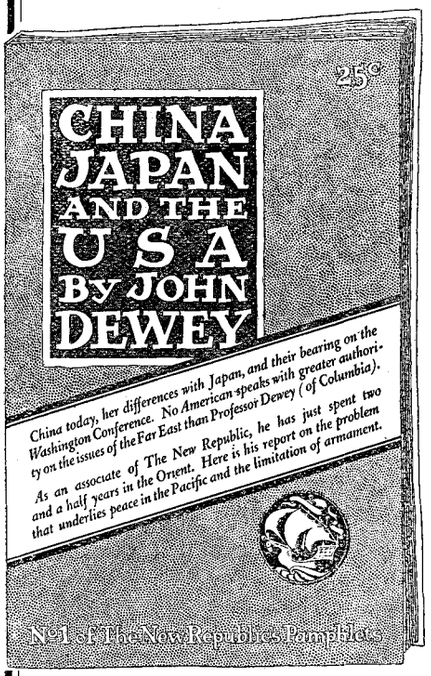
I enclose three dollars for a year's subscription to THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN WEEKLY, to be mailed to me direct from Manchester, England, commencing with the current issue.

Name .....

Address .....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

The Book of Books for the Washington Conference


25c
CHINA JAPAN AND THE U S A By JOHN DEWEY
China today, her differences with Japan, and their bearing on the Washington Conference. No American speaks with greater authority on the issues of the Far East than Professor Dewey (of Columbia). As an associate of The New Republic, he has just spent two and a half years in the Orient. Here is his report on the problem that underlies peace in the Pacific and the limitation of armament.
No. 1 of The New Republic's Pamphlets

64 pages, bound in heavy board two-tone covers.

FREE with a year's subscription to

The New REPUBLIC

Sign and return the coupon below at once and your subscription will include a special 40-page

Supplement on the Washington Conference

(to the issue of November 16)

HERBERT CROLY
On how to measure the success of the Conference

BRUCE BLIVEN
On the Japanese Viewpoint

SISLEY HUDDLESTON
On the French viewpoint

GEORGE GLASGOW
On the British viewpoint

JOHN DEWEY
On Public Opinion in Japan

MANLY O. HUDSON
On the Trade in Arms

NATHANIEL PEFFER
On Caution to America

EDWIN L. DICKINSON
On the Conference and the Rules of War.

The Supplement will contain also complete information on the personnel of the Conference, the scope of its agenda, etc., and a Syllabus of pointed questions about the Conference all answered in the text.

The only Handbook of the Conference

Send in your order at once to insure your receiving book and supplement before the Conference opens.

THE NEW REPUBLIC, 421 West 21st Street, N. Y. City

For the enclosed $5 send me The New Republic for a year (52 issues, including the Conference Supplement) and a copy of "China, Japan and the U. S. A.," by John Dewey.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

N. 11-9

BOOKS ON INTERNATIONAL POLICY

By ARTHUR BULLARD

The A B C's of Disarmament and the Pacific Problems

A penetrating discussion of the "vital interests" of America, England, and Japan—what they are, and how they may be reconciled. A stimulating contribution to thought centering about the problems of disarmament. **Price, $1.25**

THE BARBARY COAST Ill. $2.50

THE DIPLOMACY OF THE GREAT WAR $2.25

MOBILIZING AMERICA $0.75

PANAMA, THE CANAL, THE COUNTRY, AND THE PEOPLE Ill. $3.00

THE RUSSIAN PENDULUM; AUTOCRACY-DEMOCRACY - BOLSHEVISM $2.00

HENRY W. TAFT'S NEW BOOK

Japan and the Far East Conference

An open-minded consideration of Japan's claims vs. America's interests. **Price, $1.00**

AT ALL BOOKSTORES OR DIRECT FROM

THE MACMILLAN COMPANY

PUBLISHERS

64-66 Fifth Avenue New York

For a better understanding of the Conference, read the Handbook on

Disarmament

Compiled by

MARY KATHERINE REELY

It tells the why (and why not) of Disarmament in the exact words of: Charles E. Hughes, Gen. Bliss, Herbert Adams Gibbons, Rear-Admiral Fiske, Toyskichi Iyenaga, James Frear, Frank H. Simonds, Scott Nearing, Stephen Laurie, Hamilton Holt and fifty other molders of public opinion.

About 300 pages of discussions on every phase of Disarmament, $2.25.

Order it on approval, from

THE H. W. WILSON COMPANY

968 University Avenue New York

ANTI-SEMITISM

Its Cause and Cure

By DANIEL DE LEON

This is a brilliant essay by the foremost of American Socialists. Nicolai Lenin said of De Leon: "De Leon is really the first American Socialist to affect European thought."—(Quoted by Arno Dosch Fleurot, N. Y. *World*, Jan. 31, 1918.)

A vexed subject treated in a scientific manner by a master mind.

SINGLE COPIES 25c.

Discount in quantities upon application.

Ask for our catalog of scientific Socialist literature.

NEW YORK LABOR NEWS COMPANY

45 Rose Street New York City

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED